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**ON THE TRAIL
OF THE PEACEMAKERS**



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HIS HOLINESS MELETIOS

**The Greek Patriarch, Constantinople. President World Alliance
of Churches for International Friendship.**

ON THE TRAIL OF THE PEACEMAKERS

BY
FRED B. SMITH

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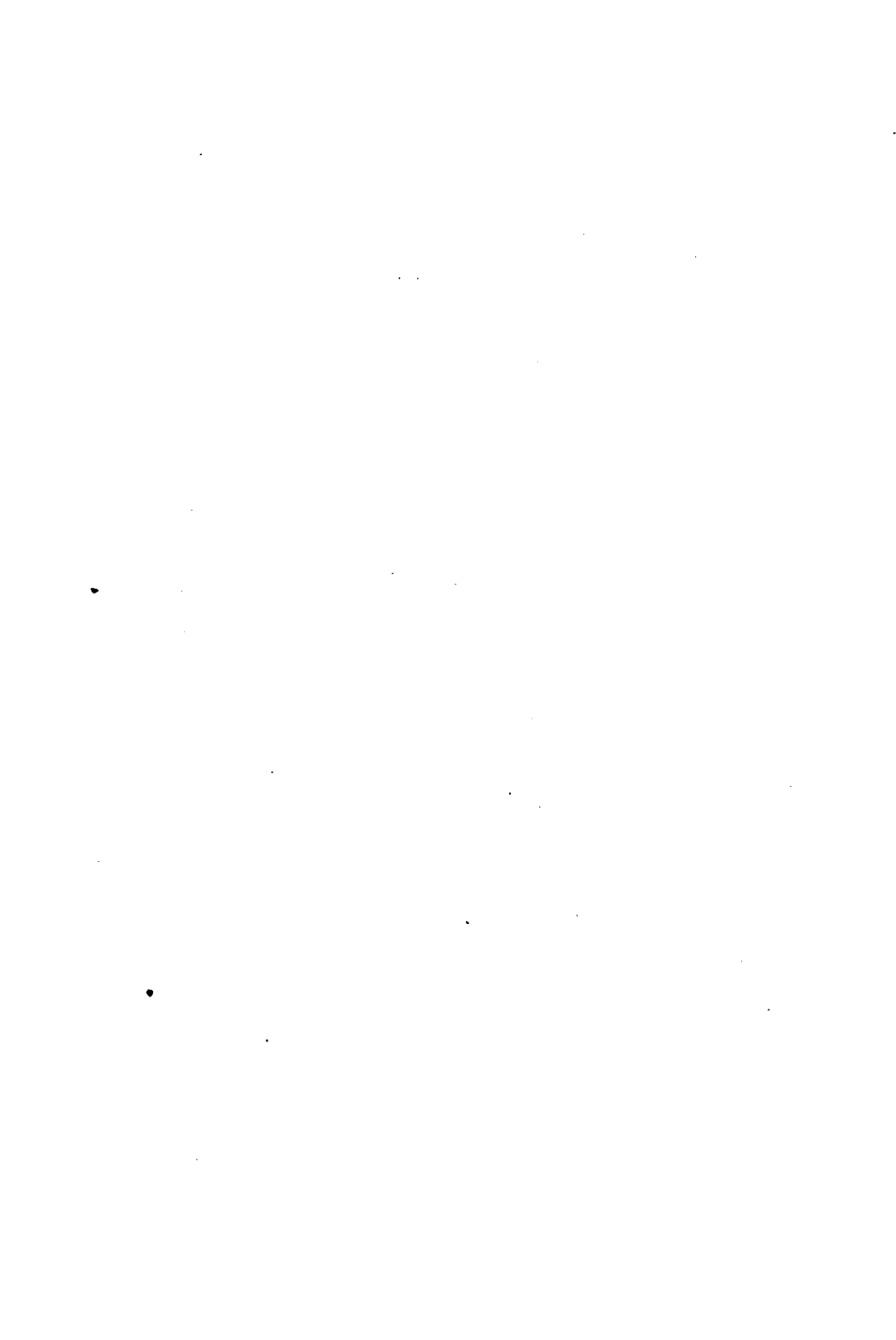
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CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. AN EXPLANATION	I
II. IS MODERN CIVILIZATION DOOMED?	5
III. IN THE HEART OF AMERICA	20
IV. HONOLULU	27
V. JAPAN. { <i>Part One</i>	34
{ <i>Part Two</i>	40
VI. CHINA. { <i>Part One</i>	49
{ <i>Part Two</i>	59
VII. SINGAPORE	70
VIII. INDIA	77
IX. EGYPT	88
X. PALESTINE	103
XI. CONSTANTINOPLE	121
XII. CONTINENTAL EUROPE	139
XIII. GREAT BRITAIN	162
XIV. AMERICA	176
XV. THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH	198
XVI. THE CLOUD BEHIND THE CLOUDS	217
XVII. CONCLUSIONS	221



ON THE TRAIL OF THE PEACEMAKERS

CHAPTER I

AN EXPLANATION

WHATEVER of value there may be to the reader of the following chapters or to the cause represented, will be very much augmented by the privilege of a few personal comments by the author.

In the first place, it is well to know that most of the articles were written before there was any thought of their taking permanent form and were the record of incidents and impressions at the time of the visits to each of the nations referred to. When it was thought important to have them appear in the present form the purpose was to rewrite or at least so to reëdit that there would be more of continuous logic and of sequence in the whole. But several intensely interested persons of literary ability strongly advised against any essential change and they therefore appear practically as written en route.

In the second place, those who read must also keep in mind that many themes of particular interest, especially of a political character, are not dealt with be-

2 ON THE TRAIL OF THE PEACEMAKERS

cause they did not come within the scope of the commission under which the work was done. The first chapter reveals the fundamental issue of the book and of the tour. Are we to have a world of more war or peace, of hate or brotherhood, of jealousy or friendship, of despair or hope? This was the central issue and a desire to help a little, if possible, in realizing the first alternative, was the objective.

The last chapter is the summary of it all and gives the conclusions, so far as they are correct, upon which the Christian Church and all peace-loving people must go forward. All that is found between must be regarded as so much evidence to be accepted for what it is worth, sifted out and used only where it helps one to understand the real situation, makes known the methods, and inspires continued effort.

The complete facts must be valued not as coming from the mind of a technical expert, for the writer is not an authority upon Internationalism, but more as the honest record of what capable witnesses testified to, concerning the signs of the times in many lands.

I was invited to go forth as a messenger of the "World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches" and under the joint auspices of that organization and the "Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America" and also advantaged by the unofficial commendation of the following allied Christian societies: The World Alliance of the Young Men's Christian Association; The International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations; The World's Committee of the Young Women's Christian Association; The World's Sunday School Association; The World's Christian Endeavor Union.

Particular reference ought to be made to the good offices, so freely extended by the officials of the Young Men's Christian Association in every nation and in every city; very much less would have been possible of accomplishment in many places but for this assistance.

Of all the contributing elements no single one was so significant as the fact that upon the day before my leaving for the West, President Harding invited to the White House over one hundred Christian leaders and public men and said a few words of hearty, earnest farewell and appreciation of the purpose of the tour.

Among other things he said:

"Bishop McDowell and Ladies and Gentlemen: I am very glad to welcome you here to-day, not only because of the organizations you represent, but because of the peculiar interest you have in the great problems of international friendship involved in the tour which Mr. Smith is to undertake.

"I do not need any spur to arouse my interest in this question, and I am quite sure America wishes to have only most cordial relations with all the nations, and seeks only good for every one of them. I have never been known as an extreme pacifist, but I am in this hour anxious for the preservation of the peace of the world. Personally I have been preaching the gospel of *understanding*, in the belief that if all the people of the world may come to understand each other better, that doctrine will eventually produce a tranquil world. America's attitude upon these questions is best explained perhaps by the approaching conference upon the limitation of armaments which we have called together, and in the success of which all of our citizens are so deeply concerned.

"I wish you all success in your undertaking, and you,

4 ON THE TRAIL OF THE PEACEMAKERS

Mr. Smith, in the tour you are now to carry out, and express the hope that it will result in great good to the lasting friendship of the nations you are to visit."

In view of the constant indictment of war, as a way by which peoples may hope to adjust their differences, which will be found in every chapter, I wish to make clearly apparent that I am not arguing for an unpoliced world. I was in Boston one evening when I could look out of one window of my room in the hotel and see the majestic spire of Trinity Church, where the great Bishop Phillips Brooks presided with such dignity and preached such a high type of Christianity. From another window I could see the domes of Harvard University, one of the highest spots of Western culture. But when I wished to go out for a short distance to call upon a friend, the porter at the door stopped me and said, "You are not permitted to go out; it is not prudent to be on the streets of Boston to-night, for the policemen are on strike."

Churches and universities combined had not carried society to a point where police protection was unnecessary. The lawless and the violent of earth can be answered only by force and they will doubtless be found among men to the end of time. But this book is written in the conviction that police protection against these and armed force for aggression, or for adjusting international questions, are two entirely different principles. It is presented in the further conviction that war as such an implement can be and must be eliminated from the scene of human struggle.

CHAPTER II

IS MODERN CIVILIZATION DOOMED?

Where All the Prophets Have Failed

WHAT follows in succeeding chapters is the result of a sudden awakening which came to the author and seemed to be shared by millions of people, not in one part of the world or of any one race or tongue, but by all kinds in every part of the world.

Up to 1914 for a considerable number of years humanity had been moving along rather complacently. People were fairly prosperous and the methods of welfare and uplift for the needy were being worked upon a pretty satisfactory basis, at least enough to grant a measure of consolation to the benevolently minded and to give them the delightful prestige of being "generous."

Eleemosynary societies were springing up everywhere, with romantic prophecies of good, followed by "reports of great progress."

The representatives of Western Christianity, who had gone out to the non-Christians, were telling thrilling tales of how these of other less promising faiths were "crowding around, hungry and eager for Christian direction."

The universities and colleges had been saying for more than a generation that they were turning out

6 ON THE TRAIL OF THE PEACEMAKERS

graduates with such altruistic, socially inclined purposes that every wrong in the world was going to be righted.

The printing presses had been running overtime issuing papers and magazines filled with brotherhood talk and plans for a world so harmonious that everything would be lovely.

The parliaments, congresses, and legislatures had been going through a change of function, so the people were told, that had put economics in a second place and had made the weal of human folks the supreme question. They had legislated about everything from prenatal protection, to childhood, to maturity, to old age and proper death surroundings.

Every day newspapers told a new story of the "treaties" being signed by the nations, looking to clear understandings and coöperation. It seemed as though the goodness of God was being worked out upon a constructive plan that would guarantee security for the highest good of everybody.

Then, as though the devil got into action, the clouds of July, 1914, gathered and the guns began firing, rather quietly at first, across the Danube River. But the momentum gathered and the great World War broke with its fury, to last for more than four terrible years. But even so amid this conflict people generally said, "Well, it is just another war." Worse, true, than others, but after all just war.

Like most things in human joy or sorrow, the fighting did come to an end. Then the traditional peace conference was held and the papers were signed. The victors were about like other victors. They had only the past records to go by and so in their deliberations

they followed ancient precedents. They readjusted geography to their own pleasure. Then they tried to make out a bill of damage to the losers and new troubles arose. No statisticians had figures enough to put the claim down on paper. No appraisers could be found who had wisdom enough to compute the loss. No mathematicians were or are available to figure out even the interest charges, to say nothing of the principal. Slowly it has dawned upon everybody that what had been acclaimed as a great victory has developed into a confusion so complete that in 1922 there is a doubt about who the final historians will say really won in 1918.

Four years of fighting and four years of struggling to find the platform of peace were necessary for the horror of the thing to begin to sink into the consciousness of humanity. Now the world is being flooded with statements from great people, saying this present civilization is wrecked and that the whole thing will go to the refuse heap and slowly some new methods of government, education, religion, and business will have to be evolved. Not foolish men or crazy people, but those whose manner of life and training command respect, are saying things like this. They rest their conclusions upon the theory, not of inability to see some adjustment discovered for the present muddle, bad as it is, but upon the conclusion that war is a fixture in the emergencies of national and international grievances—that war always has been and always will be; that with the progress of science and improved methods of equipment and transportation and organization it will grow more severe, more destructive with each generation. Therefore, that the civilization of the boasted twentieth

8 ON THE TRAIL OF THE PEACEMAKERS

century is a failure and is doomed, is their solemn decision. By every law of evidence and testimony, if they are correct in their first theory concerning the permanence of war as a method, then they are correct in the second.

There remains, therefore, just one all-important question before the world; namely to find some plan by which the principles of arbitration, of conference, and of reference to some kind of a High World Court, may be substituted for armed conflict, war, and slaughter of human beings when nations differ one with another. Everything else is incidental, secondary. Nothing else matters much. If this question can be satisfactorily answered and a better way of life, national and international, found, other problems will seem comparatively easy. If this attempt is a failure and wars and more wars come, everything held of value will be destroyed sooner or later.

In this connection it is tremendously important to shake the complacent and easygoing out of the soft reasoning, which, without any foundation, seems willing to drift along in a kind of gambler's hope that, if the thing comes again, it may not be so bad as it was last time. It would be a great boon if all students in schools, all church members, and all voters could be required to read Will Irwin's, "The Next War." Reading past history is not sufficient education upon the terror of future war. One more upon a worldwide scale and the wreck so nearly complete now will be finished.

The awful shock, the terrible awakening is to the realization that the common expressions heard and the views quite generally held about war were false. If I

may speak for myself at this point, in the belief that the experience referred to is one in common with multitudes, the statement will be made in the form of a confession. Reared in a life where wars had been not infrequent, and the tales of their heroism had been hearthstone stories, they had become to me a sort of a natural occurrence to be expected about every so often. Even when the older maturer years came, with something of a dread for this process, they produced no violent reaction.

But 1914 came and 1915 and 1916 followed. Belgium was invaded, and the *Lusitania* ruthlessly sunk and a state of war acknowledged. I then took my part in every form in assisting my own country in that struggle. Through the cities and in the military camps and on to France and the battlefields by every method I sought to do my share in prosecuting to success that conflict. The tragedy is that, as did many others, I said that there were large beneficial by-products of war which would in total compensate for the losses. It was the kind of argument with which the very air seemed filled. The memories of history corroborated that view and patriotism demanded it. The years have passed, the terrible facts are being slowly made known. Two visits to Europe and the battle scenes since 1918 and one tour around the world studying the conditions, have led to the calm, profound conviction that there are no "beneficial by-products of war." I now believe war to be a total loss, from the time the first shot is fired till the last starved baby lies down dead by the roadside. It is a total loss to the vanquished and to the victors, as judged by long years.

I do not by this indict all those who were in authority

in 1914 or in 1917. I do not say I would put my judgment against all those who might be in authority in my own country if some such crisis should arise again. But the contention is that as a method war is not only futile but is anti-Christian and unscientific, and belongs to a lower order than the sons of God. The belief is held that the hour has fully come when this method ought to be forever abolished and peaceful ones adopted for adjusting grievances.

One thing is certain: never again under any circumstances can I say the things about war which were expressed many times during the years of 1916 to 1918. Instead of those beneficial, ennobling dreams there remains the horror of the wreckage and ruins which baffle the whole human race in its attempt to rebuild and start again the God-intended life.

Leaving out ancient and older history with its doubtful records, there are some present facts which are unanswerable except upon the theory that war is a menace and ought to be outlawed.

1. War Is an Enemy of All Human Progress

I think I am an evolutionist, but cannot help feeling a degree of uncertainty about it, in view of the many wide differences in definition. If by evolution is meant what I think ought to be meant, then that theory is accepted heartily as being historical, scientific, practical, and Biblical. God surely intends the human race to climb its way up by sources of earnest effort in the realm of culture, education, and religion, till it shall find that perfect life it had in the beginning before sin had broken the ideals. The Creator has indelibly stamped

this desire, this passion, this purpose in the human heart. A study of the various races of men in their lowest state will establish this universal impulse. The untutored, the uncivilized, and the wild men will respond to a higher hope when brought in contact with schools and churches. This is one of the marks of the divine and immortal in man. The lower animals do not so develop.

God's plan for His own image is progress. War is the exact opposite. Its results are always debasing.

One of the books worth reading often is that by David Starr Jordan entitled "The Biological Results of War," in which the great educator reveals this crime against the human family in its struggle to rise. War as now conducted makes its first call upon youth. As at present conceived, it reaps its first harvest of death from youth. In the Great War 50,000,000 of earth's noblest youth were torn from natural normal life and hurled into the holocaust of butchery, and 11,000,000 of these were killed in battle. They were the purest of blood, the finest of muscle, the bravest of heart. The battle claims first those of dauntless, daring courage. The cowards usually find shelter. From 1914 to 1918 there were sacrificed in death by battle 11,000,000 of the best breeders of the world—young men out of whose loins ought to have gone reproduction in kind to carry on the upward climb of the race.

Millions more shell-shocked, wounded, crippled, and diseased have been scattered over the earth, to produce in many cases offspring far below the standard which might have been but for war legacies. The whole world was more or less brutalized by the process. A generation was trained to read without a tremor of 10,000 or

20,000 killed in one day—of men being buried alive on bayonet hill at Verdun—of thousands gassed, writhing, shrieking in agony of a death worse than Dante knew or wrote about, and of thousands more every day who were caught, like rats in a trap, on ships which were submarined and went to the bottom of the sea. War demands that participants shall be taught to glory, hold celebrations, and have victory festivals, in measure comparable to the dead in the enemy country. War kills us off at the top. It is like cutting off all the buds from the fruit trees and the gardens in the spring time.

No prophets live who dare attempt even to hint at what those 11,000,000 prematurely dead youths might have meant to future history if they could have been saved to live the natural life God meant for them. The prophet has not appeared who is farseeing enough to suggest how long it will take the average people of the whole world to climb their way back to where they were in 1914. As an ordinary traveler, a layman with no scientific ambitions, one who has circled the world completely four times, I unhesitatingly say that I believe it will take a hundred years to heal the wounds and put the program of human progress back where it was in the pre-war years.

God is the friend of peace, good will, and progress for humanity. The devil is the champion of war, hate, and defeat for humanity's hope of a better existence. No friend of God can be an advocate of war.

2. War Is an Enemy of Sound Economics and Prosperity

I am one of those who strongly believe that God never meant any human being to starve to death.

Wherever those of His creation perish for want of food, the cause can be found in somebody's greed. The divine solicitude is so great for human need that in all time the rains have been enough, the sunshine sufficient, and the soil so fertile, that the earth has produced such a yield that all could eat and none be hungry. Famine has been the work of greedy men, who for gain will block distribution and juggle with prices.

During the two recent terrible famines, one in Russia and the other in China, while at the same time countless numbers were perishing by cold and freezing, in the southern part of the United States the people were burning up cotton, to brace up the market. In the northwest the ranchmen were letting the sheep go unshorn and the wool was permitted to drop off to waste, to brace up the market. In the central west, they were using beautiful corn for fuel, rather than the trade, to brace up the market.

God's provision has been continuous and abundant. Men's greed sometimes causes famines in parts of the world. But of all the famine-producing, God-defying methods which history records, no other has ever approached war as a dispenser of starvation, famine, and pestilence. If the data could be assembled covering the dead by hunger toll of all the generations, I am sure the proportion charged to war would be more than that assigned to all other causes combined in human experience. Drought, insects, storms, floods, and fires may have called thousands to death before their natural time, but war has claimed its tens of thousands by hunger and practically all of them innocent women, children, and the infirm. But it has done more—it has

14 ON THE TRAIL OF THE PEACEMAKERS

upset the legitimate natural processes of the economic order. The world is best off when all the people are having a fair chance in the commercial world and the many are reasonably prosperous. The war has played havoc with the business world. Millions are left without a penny or a method to go forward. But, ten thousand times worse, it has left the vulgar "profiteer," who trafficked in the most sacred things of human life and love. He lives on, a curse to everything he touches, more contaminating to the economic world than a leper is to the physical. The starving in the war-ridden areas are worthy of pity, but a war profiteer who gained gold out of those scenes and kept it for his own sensual life is an object of pity and contempt combined.

The economic order is as vital as breath to good human existence. The war has wrecked it for many years yet to be,

3. *War Is an Enemy of the Kingdom of God*

If I should be asked to give one single answer to cover what seems to be the most serious result of the Great War, I would not speak of the deaths in actual battle, terrible as they were; reference would not be directed to the financial losses, although the wiping out of three hundred and fifty billion dollars of actual values, to say nothing of the indirect losses, has left the world a legacy of poverty and left nations bankrupt, some of whom will never rise again. Neither would attention be centered upon an attempt to appraise the horrors of disease, plague, pestilence, and disturbed mental conditions throughout the world, inexplicably terrible as they are. If only one word was permitted

in an appraisalment of the whole result, it would be HATE.

No one intelligent about the facts can doubt that generation after generation will have to pass before these hitherto unequaled passions of revenge, jealousy, and hate are quieted. The economic world will suffer fearfully from this fact because sound, normal commercial enterprises do not prosper in the world amid the scenes of hate which now exist. Even the physical problems, as represented by disease, will remain unsolved so long as this lack of friendship exists, but beyond all else this spirit is so much opposed to the very fundamental character of God and of the life He meant people to live that it has been a terrible blow to the hopes of those who for centuries have been offering the prayer which Jesus Christ gave to His followers: "Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven."

I am sure I met with a thousand different kinds of so-called "brotherhood" organizations on a limited scale. Perhaps many of them were exactly the opposite of what real brotherhoods ought to be, and were just selfish organizations to take care of their own inner group, but even granting this allowance, there is a hunger for brotherhood which is world-wide, and the "Kingdom on Earth" can never be what it ought to be until this universal brotherhood in true spirit has appeared. That means a day when all the good men of the world will be bound together to promote all the good of the world, regardless of race, class, caste, or place of birth. Brotherhood is a sham and an empty dream except to those who see the day coming when no man will think himself superior to others because of

his family traditions, his education, or the color of his skin. But of all the forces working against this hope no other is so overpowering as the injection of war for a season. Observing only continental Europe, the scene of the last great conflict, and its condition in this respect, it is quite enough to set every man's heart against the whole principle of war, if he professes to believe in the Kingdom of God.

I found Greece not only hating Turkey with a furious passion, but also with a deep enmity against every one of her national neighbors. I found Bulgaria seething with heated passion against every border country. Jugo-Slavia is harboring memories of the frightfulness of war with its terrible havoc, but an even more furious ill feeling toward Italy. In Hungary there was found a bitterness, the depths of which can be understood only by those who have measured the capacity of righteous hate when aroused to its depths. There is no friendly border anywhere for Hungary as at present constituted. The same furious wrath was revealed in Austria as she lies broken, hopeless, and bleeding yet from a thousand wounds. Then contact with France and Germany brings back again all the terror of human hate known in 1914-1918, plus four years of constant outrageous incidents. These are but a few illustrations drawn from continental Europe which are reflected in many forms throughout the whole Orient.

The purpose is not to condemn or indict beyond reason any of the people of any of these countries. Human nature is sensitive. It is quick to feel a wrong and there seem to have been a million causes arousing this feeling. There is no value in just merely condemning human life and human people and human processes.

Condemnation ought to be centered upon the cause, the method, not the people. War is not only a curse to human existence, but it is a deadly enemy of the purpose of God in the world.

There is just one man met occasionally in many different parts of the world for whom the writer has but little respect. Reference is not directed here to militarists who, perhaps, sincerely believe that war is an essential factor in the world full of ideas about what ought to be, but rather to a certain type of so-called religionists who search the Bible and, by a kind of mentality and standard of morality which ought to be outlawed, convince themselves and try to convince others that somehow God has to do with war. Not long since it was my sad experience on a Sunday morning to come in contact with this sort of an interpretation. I went in through a great stone arch at the right hand of which was a bold sign, "Christian Church," and underneath the name of a widely known preacher. I listened to hymns sung which I do not believe the founder of Christianity could have listened to quietly Himself. They had to do with a pious conception of the place God's pets were expected to have in Heaven. I listened to a prayer expressing sentiments, for making a permanent record of which I do not believe the recording angels could have had any method. It was more like a recitation setting forth the greatness of the man who delivered it, with a particular desire to call God's attention to the fact that he was one of a few left in the world who had not forgotten the Faith. The sermon, which lasted one hour and a half, was upon "the wheels within wheels" of Ezekiel's prophecy, and near the close, with a burst of terrific passion, the preacher de-

clared that the last great war was one of the wheels of this so-called prophecy, and assured the people that more wars of a worse kind were coming, because all the horrors which he thought he could discover in the Scripture referred to were not yet realized and God would find it necessary to bring more cataclysms of that kind, that this picture might be completed. He seemed to be a sort of expert mechanic, or specially assigned oiler, of the intricate mechanisms of Ezekiel's prophecy, and manifested a peculiar quality of ecstasy as he pondered over these fearful instances and assigned them to a part of the plan of God.

Thinking men and women throughout all the world will say that if this is religion, let us have no religion. Thinking men and women will say that if this is the religion of Jehovah God, which found its supreme expression in Jesus Christ as its founder, then we had better by far turn to Buddhism, or Hinduism, for neither of these, weak and impotent as they are, has ever inculcated doctrines of that kind.

The preacher referred to did not seem to relish the fact that the writer suggested to him at the close of the day that the sermon would have been splendid if it had been preached in a Mohammedan mosque.

Humanity is longing for a world-wide era of love, friendship, and brotherhood—a time when every man shall seek the good of his brother-man and no one man shall look upon the things that belong to him alone. When that day comes it will be the Kingdom of God, but every time war breaks out it sets that principle back by hundreds of years. Therefore, every man who believes in, and every woman who hopes for, goodness and love in the world, as the true Kingdom of God,

IS MODERN CIVILIZATION DOOMED? 19

ought to be organized to the highest degree to repress armed force as the process by which diplomats, rulers, presidents, and royalty shall adjust their differences when they arise. The Kingdom of God is peace among men, The kingdom of darkness and evil is war.

CHAPTER III

IN THE HEART OF AMERICA

The Land of Good Will

NO greater privilege could possibly have been given to any living man than to encircle the globe in the years of 1921 and 1922 as a messenger of the Christian forces of America in behalf of world peace and brotherhood, and, quite beyond the hope of any contribution made directly to the cause, to be granted the opportunity of knowing at firsthand what the real sentiment is in nineteen nations upon this topic.

The growing horrors of the World War of 1914-1918, with its train of hate, disease, pestilence, famine, poverty, jealousy, racial strife, national bankruptcy to much of Europe, and the same inevitable for all the great powers unless some relief is found, together with the assembling of the Conference on Limitation of Armaments in Washington, have combined to make this the one great consuming topic of newspaper, magazine, lecture and pulpit platform, conference, convention, and personal discussion. The whole world seems to have suddenly centered its mind upon this subject with a determination to know the cause of this war disease and to find a remedy before the slumber-

ing fires break out anew to complete the havoc so nearly final in the recent years.

I started with a good many misgivings about the criticisms I would encounter, particularly in the Far East. I had only recently spent three months in Europe and all the while in the presence of a deep suspicion that my own country was not playing fair with the rest of the world, and was quite willing to build a secure fence around herself and let other nations suffer alone the penalties of a conflict in which we had been a participant. I remembered that I did not find one spot on the British Isles or in France, Switzerland, Belgium, or Germany, where this did not seem to be the idea held of America. The fact that we did not go into the League of Nations was being interpreted as suggesting selfishness, greed, indifference, and a lack of genuine interest in world peace. I was therefore very glad that the route of travel was to take me through the heart of my own country first, that I might gain for myself those facts which would give confidence in declaring that true America was not any of those baser, meaner things which many foreigners fear.

I started armed with credentials from the two most representative church organizations, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, representing thirty-one denominations, and the World Alliance of Churches for International Friendship; also commendations from the great interdenominational societies, such as the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Young People's Societies, and the World's Sunday School Association, so that I had no doubt of the Christian sentiment in American life. I had also a cordial letter

from President Harding and a similar one from Secretary of State Hughes highly endorsing the purpose of the tour, and in addition, upon almost my last day before starting west, the President had received me with one hundred representatives of these organizations and had spoken with deep feeling upon the importance of world peace and said he was "preaching the gospel of understanding in the belief that it would eventually produce a tranquil world." All of these gave first proof that at heart America was true to the doctrine I was to try to carry around the world. But I purposed to supplement this by every possible method as I traveled west to San Francisco.

First, I talked upon the subject with every kind of man I could meet, without revealing my own mission—a Pullman car conductor and the porter, a cab driver, a street car motorman, a bell boy in a hotel, a policeman, an ex-oversea soldier, an army officer, a hotel manager and a lot more. Every one of them without a shadow of reservation advocated some way of getting along without going to war every few years. A railroad man felt sure there would never be another war if they would let railroad employees vote on the question and accept their verdict. The ex-oversea soldier was furious at what he believed was the tendency of some politicians to "play with the fire" of another war. He had been a delegate to the American Legion Convention at Kansas City and said, "That whole crowd hate war and will have nothing to do with it any more for anybody for anything."

Second, I spoke in Chicago in two great Sunday afternoon and evening clubs—one in Evanston, Illinois, at the center of Northwestern University; one in Wil-



COMMITTEE REPRESENTING

"The World Alliance of Churches for International Friendship," the "Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America," and the Allied Christian Organizations.
Received by President Warren G. Harding, at the White House, October 30, 1921.

The President expressed to the Committee his appreciation of the purposes of the Tour and of the effort of these societies in behalf of World Peace.



mette, a typical high-grade suburban part of Chicago. At both places the audiences were tremendous in their approval of the statement that war was a crime against humanity and ought to be abolished root and branch from the earth. There was no room for doubt about the sentiment here.

Third, I spent a day at the State Agricultural College at Ames, Iowa, where I spoke before two thousand in convocation and I do not believe they would have celebrated winning a football game any more enthusiastically than they received the proposal to abolish war. I found seventy volunteer groups meeting in different places on that campus studying the principles of disarmament and peace. I met two hundred and ten members of the faculty at lunch; they were unanimous upon the subject. The college and university students whose minds are open to the new social questions have no compromise to make with war.

Fourth, I spent a Sunday at Riverside, California, at the "Mission Inn" and spoke before a great audience, which I was told was typical of California. I was especially anxious to know how much they would be influenced by the "yellow peril" talk. Their response was exactly the same as that in New York, Illinois, and Iowa. The "yellow peril" is not an impossible adjustment with Japan, but in "yellow journals" and "yellow politicians." So far as California is concerned, they want no war with anybody.

Fifth, while en route the news was flashed over the wires of President Harding's two speeches—one at Arlington, at the burial of the Unknown Soldier on Armistice Day, and the other at the opening of the Conference in Washington, November 12—also of

Secretary Hughes's proposals for naval reductions. The effect was tremendous, not the noise of November 11, 1918, but a deeper, grander kind of satisfaction. I think it was the first man I spoke to after reading the news who said, "Well, maybe it isn't such a bad old world after all." New hope for a decent human life seemed to possess everybody. I was glad for this token upon my own country's soil before contact with nations far away.

Sixth, I met at Riverside the noble Dr. David Starr Jordan. A world tour upon the problems of world peace would be incomplete, it seems to me, if Dr. Jordan were not included somewhere. For a quarter of a century he has been using all his powers to bring the nations to realize the folly of war. His face flamed with delight as he referred to the addresses by President Harding and Secretary Hughes. He said: "For the first time in all my life I seem to be with the majority on this subject of world peace; we have won the first victory."

Seventh, I had the opportunity of real knowledge of the feeling of the people of the Hawaiian Islands. A big banner I met crossing the States assured me I would find a decided sentiment among the representatives of the Stars and Stripes farther west, that the sooner we had a war with Japan and got her out of the way the better it would be for everybody. But instead of any such sentiment in Honolulu, I met here again the same determined purpose to eliminate war from the program of international affairs. These western American folks know that another great war will surely sweep the Pacific Ocean, and that these islands would become a part of the battle ground and part of the territory

fought for. As Christians they do not believe in war, and as sensible people they realize its consequences to their own life. They are solidly against war.

Eighth, I saw anew the benign influence of prohibition. I believe it is a vain dream to hope for world peace so long as nations harbor great sins against human welfare. There will be no settled universal peace so long as the powerful exploit the weak in the economic affairs of life's struggle. There will be no settled universal peace so long as whisky is sold as a beverage to degrade individual life and debauch public morals. The passing of the American open saloon is probably the finest call to the possibility of idealism in human affairs of any one word which can be spoken. This element reached its highest testimony in a six days' ocean voyage from San Francisco to Honolulu on a ship where no intoxicating liquors were sold. It was like a dream as compared with the ships where the poison flows freely. As a part of America's message to the world upon friendship and brotherhood, this is an item of prime significance.

I was glad to start on to the distant parts of the world confirmed in the confidence that the United States is true in her heart toward the best good of all the people of the earth; that she harbors no secret schemes to get the upper hand of anybody for the purpose of selfish gain; that she loves peace and is willing to sacrifice every honorable thing that good will and brotherhood may supplant suspicion and hatred. I did not forget that among her population there are some profiteers who would welcome even war if they could get more dollars for their own sensual purposes, or the pitiful truth that the country still has to endure cheap

politicians who seek to entrench themselves by insulting other nations and by every method are trying to produce international discord and suspicion. Neither did I forget that worst and most dangerous group of all, the lurid yellow journalist who lives only to incite class and racial hatred, who sees the Japanese army marching by millions across Texas via Washington to capture Wall Street and dreams of Great Britain mining New York harbor clear up to the Bronx. Granting all of these their limited sphere of influence, I went my way with thanksgiving to God for America and with boldness to convey to all of whatever nation, color, race, kind, or condition, who share the hope of a world rid of armed force as an international instrument for settling differences, the certain unbounded coöperation of my country toward this supreme ideal.

America's heart is right.

CHAPTER IV

HONOLULU

"The American Laboratory"

AN unusual privilege came in the opportunity of a fifth visit to the Hawaiian Islands, and also in an unexpected delay in sailing, which gave time for some unhurried contact with the real situation. I was happily surprised in the discovery of a very vital link there in the problems of American relationship with the Orient. Feeling rather familiar with Honolulu and the people there, it had not occurred to me that anything of new significance would attach to this stop as bearing directly upon the main purpose of the tour. I shared the average tourist's appreciation of this wonderful spot, famous for tropical foliage, glorious in mountain scenery, fascinating in bathing beaches, almost unequaled in climate, rich in sugar and pineapple plantations and highly endowed in noble people, but I was to find a fact more valuable to the American future than all of these combined except the last. Without human intention or plan I found a most remarkable piece of experimental laboratory work being carried out there upon the vexed questions of racial and international human relationships, the test being the more valuable because those engaged in it are not theorists or expert students, but are just common people

forced to meet and solve these questions for practical everyday living results. As is often the case, they are discovering principles which may become of inestimable value to future generations, not only of Americans but the whole Pacific Ocean peoples.

The first fact to be noted is that here, as in no other spot in the world, the races of the Occident and the Orient are meeting, not as passers-by, but as fellow citizens of a permanent life, where all must work and live together. There is no escape for, whether they will or no, here they are and must either find a basis of coöperative, friendly working together or accept the final crisis of force and the survival of the strongest.

In the Territory they have 275,000 population, of whom 114,000 are Japanese, 37,000 white Americans, 25,000 Portuguese, 23,000 Filipinos, 22,000 Chinese, 21,000 native Hawaiians, 7,000 Koreans, 5,000 Porto Ricans, and the rest scattered from every Asiatic spot known. The East Side of New York City may be a melting pot for Europeans, but it never had such heated elements in it at any one time as this population represents in the mid-Pacific, the most westerly of all the immediate American territories.

There isn't a tint of color or an accent of tongue which is anywhere found on the shores of the Pacific Ocean but that in some form is represented here under the American Government. I had the privilege of attending flag drill one morning at the Kaulani public school, seventeen hundred students enrolled, forty different nationalities among them. During the exercises fourteen different groups, representing as many nations, marched out under the great waving Stars and Stripes and each in turn, after saluting, repeated a poem

or verse of their own selection, upon their love for the flag, and then the whole school sang "The Star Spangled Banner" together. There is not another spot on earth where at any one time so many varied tongues from faces of so many hues sing the national hymn of a country. All of these children were born under the American flag and are to remain Americans citizens for life. Mrs. Fraser, the principal, and others of the faculty expressed positive certainty that their loyalty to the country was genuine.

I hurried from this school to an international luncheon which was given in the Oriental branch of the Y. M. C. A. About a hundred picked men were present, selected from the American, Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Filipino, Portuguese, and Hawaiian groups. I was called upon to speak upon the importance of friendship among nations and peace as a permanent policy throughout the world. Then followed responses from one of each of the types present. The most impressive of all these addresses was by the Hon. C. Yada, Consul General of Japan. He pleaded for good will and brotherhood in a manner to leave no doubt but that he was a part of the society springing up everywhere to promote permanent concord in the world. Among the guests were the Hon. Wallace R. Farrington, the present Governor; Judge Frear, an ex-Governor; and the great Judge Sanford B. Dole, the first Governor, intimate friends themselves and all ardent apostles of the doctrine of friendship and brotherly relations among all these people.

I believe if all the Presidents, Premiers, Secretaries of Foreign Affairs and members of Parliaments and Congress could have been in that room and could have

felt its spirit they would have believed anew that war can be abolished from the face of the earth. Here are these mixed nations, crossed and recrossed, different in traditions of society, commerce, and religion, but they are finding a way to live in harmony, and their experience may be worth billions in money and millions in lives yet to be saved, in armed conflicts averted in the future by reason of this splendid achievement in good will.

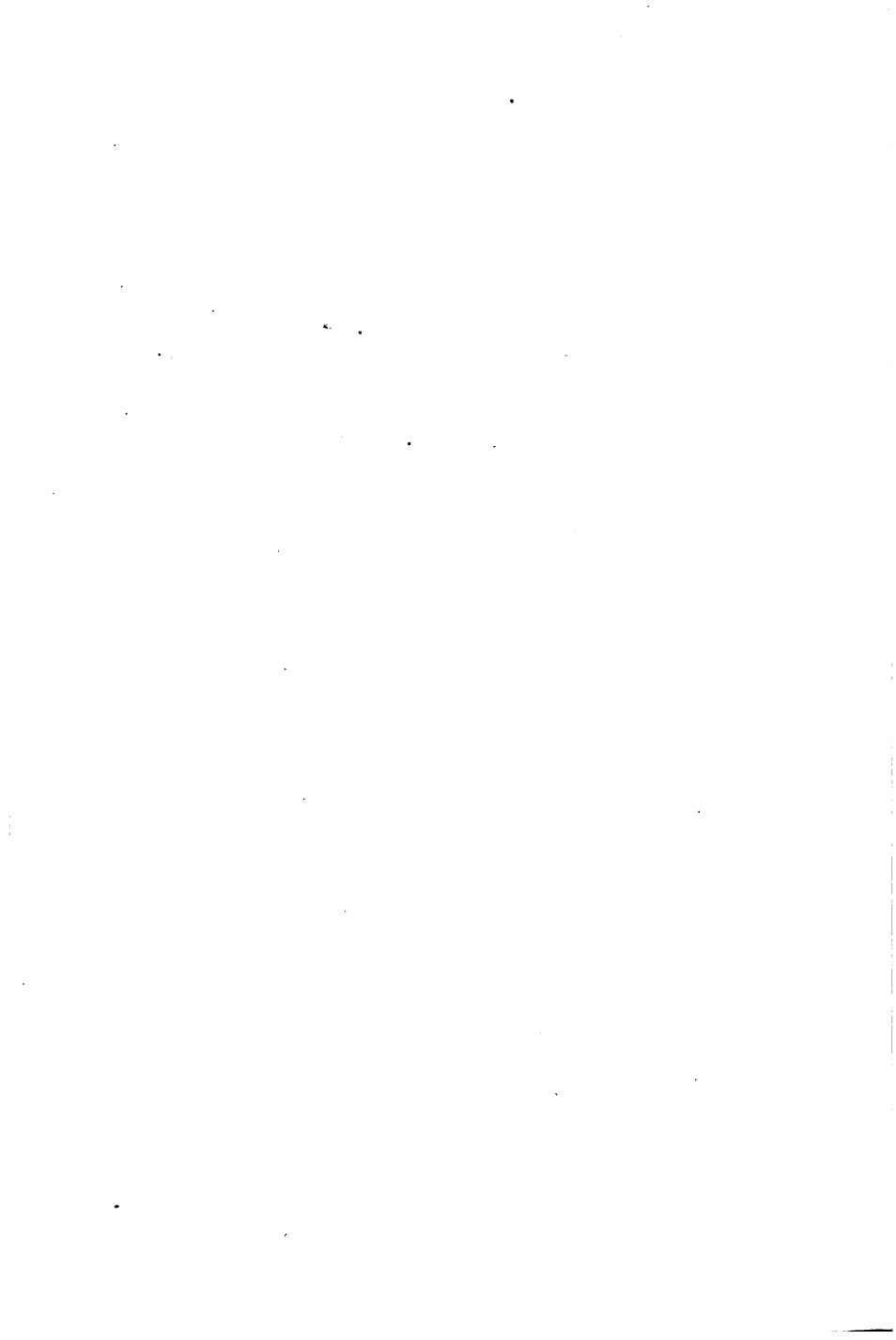
America will do well to be generous with these earnest people and give them every facility to work out successfully this problem to which they have set themselves. This is a good spot for this laboratory, not only because here the East is literally getting acquainted with the West, but also in view of the fact that here is where nearly everybody going east or going west "changes cars." I believe it would be a good thing if a rule could be established that every American on his first trip to the Orient would be required to stop a month in Honolulu and be taken into the heart of what is going on there. It would calm down his conceit (perhaps?). It would soften his voice so accustomed to blow and brag. It would teach him that there is a wisdom in the East that he can respect. He would find a splendid illustration of business energy; great business blocks, beautiful homes, every modern principle of the proper care of a city, and a real American spirit. Hawaiians exported in 1920 \$145,000,000 worth of products, \$116,000,000 of it being sugar. They have \$52,788,000 in bank deposits. They have capacity to double and treble these figures. I happened to be there when the managers of the great sugar plantations from all the islands were holding their annual convention, and



INTERNATIONAL LUNCHEON, HONOLULU

Center of Top Row—Ex-Governor Sanford B. Dole, Governor Wallace R. Farrington, Ex-Governor Judge Walter F. Frear.

FOURTEEN NATIONALITIES REPRESENTED



met a good many of them personally. They represented the financial spinal column of the country, and would grace any assembly of business men of any type of enterprise anywhere in the world. Most of them seemed to be Scotchmen, and I therefore knew the sugar industry was to be a permanent success regardless of wind, weather or politics. He would also find one of the most advanced pieces of Christian and philanthropic work being carried on anywhere in the world. I am not able to give the actual figures, but I believe there is more money invested in enterprises of this kind in Honolulu, according to the population, than in any other city in the United States. While I was there they put on their Annual Community Chest drive—\$270,000 the goal. They went over the top in three days. Churches, schools, hospitals, settlement houses, Young Men's Christian Associations, Young Women's Christian Associations—four buildings for the two latter representing over a half million dollars, all paid for.

The American ought to see and feel this fused life before he rushes, raw, into the Far East. The benefits would be equally profitable for the Oriental going east to make a similar stop. Here, in a life which is not soft, not colorless, God has in a wonderful way set these people at this place where the tension is so severe, to live their lives true, and at the same time to demonstrate that such a mixture can live in harmony in this limited sphere, and therefore such a hope is not impossible, by the same rule of conference, forbearance, and unselfishness, upon a world-wide scale. The most impressive thing in it all seems to be the fact that nobody started out to do a scientific thing based upon superior knowledge of biology, racial traditions or

"post-war reconstruction." No great "congress" has been held, no "commissions" appointed to make a "long, exhaustive, intensive study" of the situation.

Common sense, based upon the fruits of that great Christianity planted by those early foreign missionaries who came there when the wild men ruled in lust and passion, has led them to adopt a few simple principles:

First, get sympathetically acquainted with each other. Learn the other fellow's point of view.

Second, practice the square deal doctrine. Give every fellow a fair chance for his life.

Third, have confidence in folks, believe the other fellow means what he says until the evidence proves to the contrary.

Fourth, have patience. Don't insist upon setting your own pace all the time; wait for the fellow who seems to be slow.

Fifth, magnify the Christian religion as the ultimate hope of permanence in friendly relations.

On this last point I have never visited any place, East, West, Near East or Far East, where the fundamental people seemed to believe this more fundamentally than they do in the Hawaiian Islands.

While the nations struggle for adjustments and the people suffer the penalties of useless war, I thank God for this illustration being so successfully worked out of good will, even among almost impossible races.

Since writing the earlier part of this article I have talked with another American of his impression of this same spot. I am afraid he would not draw the same conclusions. He said he had it upon "reliable information" that the Japanese have secretly stored away shiploads of rifles and thousands of rounds of ammunition

and are ready at a signal from Tokyo to assassinate Governor Farrington, slaughter the white people, and annex the island to Japan. He says the police of Honolulu are sold out to the prostitutes, and that "half the city is given over to vice." He says the Hawaiian Islands people say, "to hell with Washington and prohibition," and goes on to say there are "twice as many saloons in Honolulu as there were five years ago." Isn't it funny what different people find out in the same spot?

But, lest the writer may seem to have been limited to one side of the question of life in Hawaii, it may be well to add that they have still severe strains in relationships, they have had some bad strikes, they may have some more. They have submerged vice to contend with (none openly). They have violations of the Eighteenth Amendment. *Not one open saloon.* Surely they have struggles with every kind of carnality. But the good is proving more potent than the bad.

CHAPTER V

JAPAN

Part One: A Flashlight in the Sunrise Kingdom

OF all the nations to be visited, with one exception, I was more in doubt about what my reception would be and what I would really find in Japan than in any other country. I was full of doubts and prepared to be confirmed in general distrust of everything Japanese. To understand and appreciate fully what follows it seems necessary to say that I was exceedingly critical of the Japanese, so far as the international friendship topic was involved. I took, therefore, unusual care to talk with Europeans and Americans en route, and found certainly ninety per cent of them apparently full of the idea that Japan was clearly militaristic, deliberately planning for war with somebody, and that that somebody was probably the United States. This sentiment seemed to be absolutely fixed in the minds of the travelers, and later after leaving Japan and going on farther into the East I found exactly the same sentiment. Europeans, Americans, and neighboring Orientals all seemed of one accord in utter lack of confidence in the Japanese, no matter what they might profess.

Personally, I had been prejudiced by the attitude of Japan toward China and the severity of methods used

in Korea, and had also by some experiences been led to wonder whether the average sincerity of the average Japanese was equal to that found in other people. In fact, I arrived in the land of the sunrise flag and glorious Fujiyama suspicious and determined not to be fooled, fixed in purpose not to accept any impressions till the evidence was enough to leave no room for reasonable doubt. In other words, I started as rather a biased witness and conducted my investigation with the expectation of having my suspicions confirmed.

For the information I have, whatever its value, I am indebted to many people—pastors, college presidents, missionaries, public officials, Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. secretaries, bankers, lawyers, manufacturers, students, merchants, and editors, as well as to meetings and conferences I conducted myself.

No sudden superior knowledge is now claimed that warrants saying all of those who gave the earlier impressions were wrong. Maybe they are right, and Japan may be guilty of every sin of which she is accused. I do not pretend to answer these charges. There may have been cause for everything said. I was not on an investigation of political situations, and indeed avoided questions of that character, for my mission was to learn the truth about the issues of international friendship as related to the Christian churches and to stimulate that ideal.

The result was the delightful discovery of a "peace" sentiment in Japan far beyond anything I had supposed possible. From the time I arrived in Yokohama till I left for China I was constantly and everywhere conscious of a deep, genuine, growing hunger for world peace and a desire to know that humanity had put war

behind it and was to pursue conference methods for settling differences in the future.

I am perfectly willing to record this statement and meet it any time for the next twenty-five years or more. The military party may be strong; it doubtless is. There may be strenuous armament plans being carried on; there doubtless are. There may be a rather extreme nationalist movement which thrives on jealousy of other nations; there doubtless is. There may have been some serious blunders in diplomacy and some unthinkable methods in military control; there doubtless have been.

But in the midst of it all there is a veritable passion for peace and disarmament which I firmly believe represents the view of a vast majority of the people. Whatever may be the motives of some, this fact is as sure as that I saw snow on Fujiyama, jinrikshas on the streets or rice in the fields.

This evidence was found in the first place in the organized peace societies. I am led to believe there are more different kinds of this work going on in Japan than can be found in the United States. The Japanese Council of the "World Alliance of Churches for International Friendship" is doubtless the most conspicuous one and most widely known. Then the Committee upon International Friendship of the "Federated Missions of Japan" and a similar committee of the "Federation of Churches of Japan" are both active. "The Society of New Men," non-sectarian, little advertised but powerful in personalities, is really a peace effort.

Nearly every university, college, and school of first importance has a peace committee or department in operation.

From the standpoint of effect upon the Government and politics, "The Japan Peace Society," of which Baron Yoshiro Sakatani is president, is the most significant. I have known Baron Sakatani personally for nine years and believe him to be a noble, sincere man of great force.

Perhaps the newest and the one of greatest possibilities is the "Woman's National Peace Society," which, while largely directed by Christian women, is by no means confined to Christians. Many of Japan's most influential women of all faiths are interested in it and are determined to have the voice of their sex heard on the war questions of the future.

In Korea, where they have suffered so much and are naturally grieved almost beyond measure to be compelled to live in the presence of the Japanese soldier guarding every railway platform and crossroad, nevertheless the Christian churches, the Federated Missions, as well as some independent citizens' organizations, have peace or international friendship committees in active work. At a packed meeting in the Young Men's Christian Association at Seoul on Christmas Sunday the young men applauded to the echo an address which prophesied peace instead of war as the coming method of human relationships. The organized expressions of Japan's weariness of war are a powerful testimony of the desire for friendship.

The attitude of the public press also gives certainty of this fact. Our ship, much delayed, came into harbor at Yokohama amidst a severe storm and docked after dark. Before I was able to get my hand baggage out of the stateroom ten reporters from as many

different dailies were in my room clamoring for an interview. I jokingly told them I was not a candidate for office, or the king of any country. The answer was, "You represent peace and Japan is glad to welcome you." I was told that my visit and what I said were written up literally as a "front page headliner" in every prominent newspaper in Japan all the time I was there. I was never photographed so many times in my life in so short a space of time. This certainly was not personal interest, but a genuine indication that the newspapers were after the "stuff" the people wanted to read. Not every paper in Japan shares this feeling; they have some of the same "yellow" character found in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago, New York, London, and Paris. But for the most part the peace hope is the biggest theme of the periodicals, papers, and magazines of the entire country.

The enthusiastic interest in the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments was another guarantee of the power of the peace desire there. At no interview, at no meeting, at no conference could this subject be left out. Every time I was introduced to speak the audience was assured that I would bring the latest information upon that subject. In this connection the names of Harding and Hughes were nearly always used as the chief champions of peace. The interpreter told me at one place during an introduction that the chairman said: "America once produced a Lincoln who gave liberty to one race, but now I think she will produce a Harding to give freedom from war to all races." There were those opposed to the Conference as there were in other countries, but they were an unimportant minority; essentially the Japanese were

intensely in favor of it as a strong prophecy of permanent peace.

The enthusiasm and attendance where meetings and functions were held upon this topic were also a token of this fact. Unattended by something else, this may be a poor or doubtful factor upon which to base judgment of the real sentiment of people, but when surrounded by the contributing elements which were present here I believe it may be given due consideration. After many years' experience with this type of work, and being rather capable of giving fairly accurate estimate of its value, I venture to say that not at any time or place have I witnessed such profound interest or manifest approval in platform presentation as in these events in Japan, with the possible exception of some such events during the Great War. To my surprise and satisfaction, I found in Japan that a plea for *world peace* would produce as spontaneous sanction as a call for fidelity to patriotism in a *world war*. Out of several meetings this reached perhaps its highest point in Osaka (the Japanese Pittsburgh). The address lasted two hours and ten minutes, one-half for direct presentation and one-half for interpretation by Mr. Kato, chief editor of the Osaka *Mainichi* and the Tokyo *Nichi-Nichi*. At the close I did what occurred at only one other place. I asked every man in the audience who believed in everlasting world peace and who felt that Japan never ought to engage in another war to raise his right hand. Instantly practically every hand in the audience was up, and then, without signal, suggestion or leadership, involuntarily the whole audience rose and shouted uproariously, "Banzai, Banzai!" To catch the full significance of this one needs to be reminded

that this is not the usual style of approval by the Oriental. In some form this was typical of the spirit of every public meeting everywhere.

The same interest in a more dignified form was shown in the luncheons or banquets for public officials and business men in nearly every city. In Tokyo about one hundred were the guests of Baron Sakatani, member of the Imperial Diet and former Mayor of the city, and Mr. Fujiyama, president of the Chamber of Commerce. Eight bank presidents were in attendance, several managers of leading business houses, city officials and educators. Similar events occurred at Kyoto, Osaka and Kobe. At the latter 175 men of the same type attended the banquet presided over by Hon. C. Ariyoshi, the Governor of the district, at which the Mayor of the city, Hon. T. Sakurai, was also a speaker. At all of these the feeling in behalf of universal peace was tremendous. And running through them all was a fervent appeal for understanding between the United States and Japan.

The frankness with which many men of many kinds freely commented upon the fact that Japan had made some serious mistakes in relationships with China and Korea was to me an added earnest of a fervent desire for peace and a future free from the diplomatic blunders of the past. I am quite aware that admissions of this kind are not spoken by many and it may not be realized by the majority, but among those I talked with and met there seemed an openness and liberty to speak of serious errors and acknowledge wrongs which was surprising and at the same time assuring. One could only wish that a similar willingness to concede wrong and less persistence upon infallibility could be

heard in some portions of Europe; it might kindle new hopes for lasting peace and prosperity in that part of the universe.

The unwavering unanimity of all Christians of every kind and name as messengers of world peace was also a satisfying proof of the strength of this hope in the nation. Numerically the church membership is not large in Japan—about 300,000 total. In Korea probably about the same. But the permeating effect of these Christians upon social, educational, civic, and moral issues cannot be measured by their numbers. I heard public men of entirely different religions refer to the Christians as the leaders of the great progressive ideals. They are the leavening hope of the old world. Therefore, I was encouraged to note the unbroken solidarity of the Christian clientele for world peace.

Once again it seems necessary to say that the writer makes no profession of wisdom enough to give decided opinion upon vexed political topics or merits of Japan's severe critics, but only to affirm with gratitude to God that the peace movement and sincere desire for international good will are a reality in Japan and may be reckoned as a worthy factor in the better days hoped for by all good people throughout the world.

JAPAN

Part Two: What Japan Is Thinking

AS a messenger of the hope of a world brotherhood, where good will and coöperation will supplant the old order of "an eye for an eye" and "a pound of flesh" for every grievance, I could not turn aside lightly from certain great facts I met in Japan which reflected what they are thinking there, and because they are so thinking all who work for understanding and coöperation must give consideration to them. If they are wrong in their conclusions, they must be so convinced; if they are right, they must be given their place in reaching decisions. In presenting the following statements I do not wish to argue any particular view, but only to convey the truth of the statements made to me by serious men of many kinds whose honesty I have no reason to doubt. I will advance, however, to comment that no progress will be made toward final peace by those of any department of life who refuse to give these facts just recognition. The Japanese people are thinking these things in desperate earnestness of a kind which will not be easily brushed aside.

In the first place, they are thinking that there is no permanent reason why the brown and yellow races are to be forever subservient to the domineering attitude of

the white man. As they study their own national and individual characteristics, they are not willing to admit that the Japanese is an inferior being. I am of the opinion that they could get a verdict in their favor upon this point from a fair-minded jury which had all the facts before it. "Forward," "Progress," seem to be written all over Japan. Their energy is unbounded, their determination is contagious. I spoke to great audiences in auditoriums as beautiful as anything in New York City. I addressed one meeting of business men in a club in Tokyo more beautiful in furnishings than any I know of in America. I remember only one which equals it in London. In all of these clubs and gatherings of business men I was reminded that the yen is at par in any bank in the world and above par all over the Orient, giving proof of their solvent economic situation.

In most of these clubs I was ill at ease, for my clothes were not so perfectly cut as those of the men to whom I was speaking. By the way, "European clothes" are the common thing in Japan. In audiences numbering from one hundred to four thousand nearly all the men were fitted out in so-called "European" suits of the latest model. I could not but hope that some influence would save the Japanese women from following the trend of the men in this respect. From the standpoint of grace, beauty, modesty, and comfort their own are far superior. I do not believe any half-respectable Japanese woman could be hired to appear in the half-naked costume of the American or European society lady in evening attire. The Japanese woman has some modesty left, the European and American seem to have assassinated theirs.

44 ON THE TRAIL OF THE PEACEMAKERS

I met personalities as finished as found anywhere on earth. Their courtesy makes the ordinary man from the West look like a coarse boor. My wife attended a charming reception in a Japanese home where seven white men were present, three of them so disgracefully drunk that they insulted the entire company.

I sat at a banquet one night between two men who kept me in constant anxiety by their discussion of history and literature about which I knew but little. I was told that next to the municipal building the public school building was the finest in every town in Japan. I saw many of these myself. Ninety-six per cent. of all the people are literate. Schools and colleges are running to full capacity. There is a nation-wide passion for education. I met a Japanese shipowner who had just given away \$2,000,000 for educational purposes. From any view they take of the Occidental, mentally, socially, commercially, or morally, they are unable to discover the "Why?" of this assumed pre-eminence. This whole note of progress is what is called the "high collar" movement, which means that the Japanese has dressed himself up to date in every feature, including his clothes, his manners, his mind, and his pocket-book. By the law of evidence and comparison they have candidly concluded they are not less in future possibilities than other men and are demanding to be met upon a platform of equality for all time to come upon all questions to be mooted. Peace, harmony, and understanding are idle dreams when Japan is involved, unless the conferees have accepted fully this fact number one.

In the second place, Japan believes the white man would have swallowed the whole earth if she had not

protested. She had watched Germany with her banners flying, "Germany Uber Alles." She had heard the Britisher singing "Rule Britannia." She had observed the American loudly proclaiming "America First" anywhere he put up the Stars and Stripes. She had seen the Russian slowly but surely moving toward a pan-Slavic control of the western Pacific. She had witnessed the great powers meet to divide up China. She looked at the map and observed that the white man, with one-quarter of the population of the world, was in control of seven-tenths of its surface and certainly planning to take the rest promptly. As a matter of fact, as she studied this map, about all there was left of the darker races, not in some form dominated by the white man, was her own soil and a white man's face upon the horizon of every point of the compass, as she believed and believes ready to swallow her up also. Unorganized Africa seemed to offer but little resistance. India was apparently without any method to oppose successfully the onslaught, China hopelessly divided, lying upon her back in despair, Korea, the buffer for all the ill winds which seemed to blow. In the language of the American westerner, she simply got up on her hind legs and issued a protest. Whatever argument there may be about the ethics of the procedure and methods employed, the protest has been heard and the white man has stopped, for the time being at least, in the presence of this protest made so loud that it has been heard around the world. Right or wrong, Japan believes furiously that her protest has saved the day, and that eventually all the darker races will praise her for her courage and indomitable will.

In the third place, Japan is thinking that whatever

she has achieved in securing recognition from the rest of the world has been because she fought for it. Upon nearly every occasion when I tactfully spoke of the general impression that Japan had become "militaristic" or was accused of being the "Hohenzollerns of the East" the same answer was forthcoming. In substance it was that the West came to the East with battleships, navies, and armies. Her invasion was everywhere under a military threat and the only answer was to fight. They are sure Russia meant to take Korea, the Japan Sea, and the Yellow Sea. They fought both China and Russia and won. They were very enthusiastically invited to clear the Pacific of Germans in 1914. They fought then and won. They are thinking that the results they have attained in the integrity of their own soil, freedom from Russian or German invasion and a place of respect among the great powers, is because they fought. It is not strange that their minds often return to the fact that they had a first place in the Washington Conference upon the Limitation of Armaments and that they are in the famous "Quadruple Alliance," and that out of what only a few years ago was a position of begging for the crumbs which fell from the white man's table they have come to be a respected guest.

That man does not live who can convince them that any such place in the world would ever have come to them if they had just sweetly waited for the roaring white man to give it to them voluntarily. The white man's history has not been so full of that kind of magnanimity that they were able to embrace such a hope. The whole past military record of Japan is written in this deep conviction they have, that

fighting has done this much. They know British, Russian, German, French, and American history and are suspicious. Their minds work like lightning. Americans repeatedly say, "Look out for the Japanese; they are clever." Rather interesting that the American, who loves so much to be told "he is clever" and revels in the thought as his chief virtue, should regard the same quality when found in the Japanese as a heinous sin, a sort of crime.

On a train from Mukden to Peking one day I got into a conversation with four Americans and one Britisher. They furiously assailed the Japanese merchants. I asked for particulars and one of them finally said, "They have just cleaned us out of the fur trade all over Manchuria." I could not but wonder if some of this sentiment was not jealousy of the white man that a brown man had risen in the business world who was more than a match for him. This cleverness in the commercial realm is naturally reflecting itself upon the present political issues.

They are thinking hard just now; they want armaments limited; they want peace if possible, but undoubtedly they are cherishing hopes beyond the present, and if they cannot get what seems a fair deal any other way, they are thinking they may be called upon to fight some more. This need not be scoffed at, after all, by the West as such a strange philosophy. I heard one high-grade Christian Japanese tell of being in London in 1914 when all the press praised the naval preparedness of Britain as the only hope of preserving the Empire. A little later he said he was in New York and saw the greatest parade of his life, when all America seemed marching to the tune of "military

preparedness." The military philosophy of Japan is based upon observation of Western methods. There may be intrigue, deception, and all sorts of wild dreams mixed up in it, but these do not change the mental operations of the people. America's second religion, the "Monroe Doctrine," for which she has fought, has given birth to a child in Japan called "Militarism."

In the fourth place, Japan is thinking that there is nothing to be gained by long extended delays in the readjustments. It is quite probable that the military party is making big use of this thought and seeking to capitalize it as a doctrine of jealousy and unrest. But granting all this, and even more which might be added, the people generally believe that now is the day of their salvation and that to delay pressure would endanger all the advantage gained. Hence the persistence with which they are urging their views now.

Whatever is said of Japan and her people, no one accuses her of being dull in the thinking department, and just quietly reasoning from cause to effect from one incident in history to another, she says, "We had better take our firm stand now, or a few more strokes of Western diplomacy (which she utterly distrusts) may put us where we will have no capacity to resist." One very earnest minister of a native Christian church, who was accused of being a pacifist, said in my hearing, "If Japan is not heard now, she never will be." Therefore, this stubborn insistence upon some things being settled immediately. Japan must be met upon the basis of what she is honestly thinking, and not what the American thinks she ought to think.

CHAPTER VI

CHINA

Part One: Where the Peace Doctrine Has Been Tried and Failed

NO stranger contradiction could come to a man, or no stranger reversal of what might be called the psychology of crowds, than to spend some time in European nations speaking upon the necessity of world peace and the abolition of the war method, and to remember the joy with which such a proposal was received everywhere, then to follow with great meetings straight across the United States of America in cities and universities upon the same theme, always to be met with the characteristic American enthusiasm and approval, then to have a perfect whirlwind campaign over Japan, speaking of the possibility of a warless world, again to be received with such praise that one was at times nearly swept off his feet amid the applause, *and then to come to China.* In all these cities and countries mentioned, representing nearly 12,000 miles of geography from east to west, I had been looked upon as a progressive, as a prophet of a new dawning era, as a harbinger of a great hope just beginning to take root in the world. In substance, the only query seemed to be, "Is it not too good to be really true?" There was no opposition worth noticing to the general

proposition. Some doubt was expressed here and there about the methods proposed, but that war stood condemned before the court of human judgment all gladly acknowledged. If it does not sound too much like conceit, I had been indulging myself in the thought of having been privileged to get up in a high place, where a wider vision could be seen of a better order of peace and brotherhood coming upon the horizon than that accorded to most folks.

Then I came to China. It will be many years before I can forget the change in atmosphere, in attitude, in response. There was no applause, no gathering around for hearty congratulations, no great manifestations of enthusiasm. These audiences, at first at least, seemed to look and listen with surprise and pity. Then I slowly got their point of view. They looked upon me as a delayed sort of man, a fellow who had arrived too late, one who was about two generations behind the times, an expositor of an idealism which had been tried, weighed in the balance, and found woefully wanting.

China was saying to me: "Yes, that is beautiful, we wish it were true; we preached it and tried to practice it, we traditionally love it; but as a practical proposition any man is a fool who advocates it. Look at us, 400,000,000 strong in population, yet peace has made us the serfs of the earth, the football for the game of world diplomacy. Peace has brought us a wrecked national life and one almost without hope in the future. You come from a Western nation which has fought her way by frequent wars to wealth and power and now maintains her position by big navies and armies. Your doctrine has failed with us and its opposite has succeeded in your own country. Much as we dread the

process, we are now going to organize our millions of men for war, and even if it takes fifty years and fifty million men we are going to fight our way out of the mire peace got us into."

I was where all the evidence seemed to prove that *international good will and universal brotherhood* were dreams only to be indulged in by the student in his study and the over-sentimentalists. The intensity of this feeling was brought to my attention one night when, following an address in which I had said, "China had better suffer injustice for a hundred years than resort to war," a Chinese Christian minister of high character and more than ordinary spiritual fervor said to me privately, "Mr. Smith, you talked of a hundred years, but we have now suffered injustice and ignominy for a thousand years and see no relief." This view was not confined to Chinese alone, but to my utter astonishment found expression among some American and European missionaries. One as noble as any Christian I ever met, after hearing my first address, said: "Smith, that is all very well, but the next thing the Chinese must do is to whip somebody in the war game and get some kind of respect among the nations of the world before we can hope to make this people truly great."

This terribly solemn conclusion had been borne in upon them not only by remembrance of the past but by the results of the most recent efforts of diplomacy. The Washington Conference had at first ruled out the Shantung Question as irrelevant to a meeting called to discuss the Pacific Ocean issues. To the Chinese Shantung Province, with its sacred temples and shrines, its soil the birthplace of Confucius, its enor-

mous commercial resources and strategic distributing possibilities, now controlled by alien people, is *the* Pacific problem. They can't talk, think, or plan without reckoning with this issue. They had prayed for a hearing of the "Twenty-one Demands" document, only to get no answer. One Chinese university man, a Christian of high standing, said to me: "The only language the Versailles Conference knew or the Washington Conference knows now is the threat of a big gun. We have none at present large enough to speak, but we are going to get them, and then we will be heard." I had come to a nation, the largest numerically on earth, where they seemed to have closed the books on poetry and philosophy of peace as being antiquated and were getting the engineers ready to estimate their war strength and tell how long a time would be necessary to get equipped for the slaughter.

This attitude of mind seemed to be almost unanimous, so much so that I was soon made aware that the committees handling my program were kindly, but earnestly, trying to divert me from pressing international friendship to other themes of a more general character. But presently I began to find that of all places visited there was none where they would so deeply love to share my views if they could only have any real grounds for genuine expectation that the thing would work. I found that I was following the same route of travel as that taken by the great Rev. H. T. Hodgkin, of London, while he was delivering a series of lectures upon the same general subject, and that at every place he had left behind a profound impression of real belief that world concord was not a phantom vision, but a tangible possibility. I availed myself of

the advantage in coöperation with those groups he had left, and very rapidly learned that if only the rest of the world will give any adequate evidence of sincerity in its disarmament and permanent peace proposals, there will be no trouble with China. All the Chinese ask for now is a decent chance to show their real heart upon the doctrine I was there to preach, and they will not be classified as militarists, but as the supreme lovers of peace.

Whatever may be the vexed questions upon which men may differ concerning the China of the future, the rest of the world ought to see that they are given such an abundant opportunity. They deserve above all else such encouragement now.

In the first place, that as a nation they may be rescued from further attempts at military preparedness, just when all the world seems bent on wiping out the menace of militarism. Europe is stirred by contempt of the "War Lord" party, and is every day trying to belittle further military activities. The public platform, the press, and the educators of the United States are constantly warning the people lest unawares that nation be swept into the peril of big armies and navies. The severest critic of the Japanese, when aroused to say the worst thing possible, charges them with being "militaristic." It is a synonym of contempt, a thing to be dreaded and annihilated. Strange, if while the rest of the world so condemns this principle it should by its blundering, materialistic, nationalized, office-seeking diplomacy drive the most peace-loving nation in the world to militarism to save its life from utter collapse.

I do not know just what the real issues are. I did

not attempt to find out, for I was not a judge, a member of the jury, or an arbitrator. But I did not find one man from Paris to Peking who, if the Chinese question came up, did not say that great injustice had been done to China. All with one accord agree upon this point. If unfair dealing is persisted in, and no apparent hope suggested from other sources, then China will be militaristic, and finally some day that means war, and when it comes it will not be between China and some other single nation. But it will surely involve every nation with a foot on the Pacific shores anywhere. As an earnest of reality, of sincerity, of honesty, the big talkers against militarism ought to see to it that China gets a square deal.

In the second place, China deserves encouragement to proceed by peaceful methods, because she is not by temperament, tradition, or training a soldier-like type. Hers is the natural aptitude for philosophy, literature, and the scholastic life. I shall later speak of what a pitifully small percentage of her people ever had opportunity in this realm, but nevertheless that is her characteristic, evidenced by every man who has had long knowledge of her people. In this connection it may also be said that she is not materialistic. Perhaps she ought to be more so, grant that. But I wonder if the nations with marching soldiers and speeding warships and overfed millionaires would not themselves profit in some nobler qualities if they should unite to let great China have an unobstructed opportunity for growth and prosperity without fighting for it. While writing I am reading Sir Philip Gibbs's "More That Must Be Told," in which he so furiously and justly condemns the debauch of militarism which has followed the war.

If his conclusions are correct and the need of the world is a nationalism of more spiritual type, which I firmly believe, then China ought to be given guarantees that she can go forward, letting her truest characteristic be revealed without resort to bloodshed and slaughter of human beings. I looked at Chinese soldiers and could not but feel a sense of indignation that these men were being forced to wear clothes not to their liking and stand at "attention" when they so poorly know how to handle a gun. The Chinese soldier is an artificial product. The world of politics and affairs in history has enough sad pages to reckon with now, without adding another in a vicious debauch of China and her resources. If this nation is forced to go on arming and by so doing go on spreading poverty, which is already unspeakable and indescribable, and eventually to break out in another war, I believe it will be the supreme crime of human history.

In the third place China deserves a square, honest deal and a peaceable opportunity to go forward, because of the superb contribution she can make to the ultimate peace of the world.

Earlier reference was made to what seemed to be the overwhelming sentiment for war. That is true and it remains true and will continue till some better form of diplomacy is developed in the world that has thus far shown itself. But I also found, not only in individuals, but in groups, the finest expressions of the principle of world brotherhood to which I ever listened. The European, American, and Japanese language about international friendships is pretty strongly tinged with economics. I have seen some Americans suddenly become peace advocates who have never been famous

for philanthropy or religion. En route West I met one such who when I inquired about the influences prompting his new attitude very quickly revealed the fact that it was not human idealism or spiritual results, but horror at the size of his "income tax." Reduced incomes have made a good many converts to the extinction of war idea. Some nations are discussing world peace as a remedy for national bankruptcy. I venture the suggestion that this basis will not produce enduring peace. Some day the balance of money advantage might seem to be the other way and then that platform would lead to war. That was Germany's blind, brutal, sordid blunder in 1914.

I spoke to churches, clubs, schools, colleges in the greater cities of China. I met great personalities in public, business, educational, and private life, and felt that I had not at any time heard the desire for universal good will among men put upon a higher basis than by the Chinese. I found myself quite unconsciously shifting the emphasis in addresses to those most religious aspects of the friendship topic. There are places where the economic phase, with its consequent burden of taxation, business depression, and loss of efficiency, seems the most binding argument against armed conflicts. But this is not the supreme apologetic in China. These audiences softened into cordial friendliness and lost that frigid resentment under the pressure of facts about war being an enemy of brotherhood, of human welfare, of childhood and of the Kingdom of God. I was only sorry at the close of about sixty addresses delivered in China that I had not been more conscious of this psychology at the beginning. I could have gone very much more directly to the heart of the subject

and been much more effective. Before one perfectly splendid audience of Chinese church leaders, where there was present a large number of beautiful women, for the most part of mature years, I made use of a large clause upon war's toll upon motherhood, and in the name of the women who bear in pain the young men who are sent to be butchered, I spoke against more war. I could wish that all the war-crazed politicians and dirty yellow journalists who are trying to provoke more hatred and jealousies and strife among the nations could have witnessed the sight and felt the emotions in that room. Stern men and women made no attempt to restrain tears. One Chinese minister with degrees from half a dozen universities, said to me at the close, "If that side of this war business is carried through China it will kill the military party dead in five years."

When some day a generation arises who by the grace of God make "wars to cease," I believe a high tribute will then be paid to the influence of the Chinese upon this consummation so much to be desired. I still hope that the generation of which I am one of the older group, may yet have sense enough to let this nation express its better life rather than to drive it, against its deepest will, to follow the train into more brutality.

China presents a queer contradiction. Admit every frailty of her past, every sin of which she is accused, every omission which can be thought of, and here remains the fact.

One channel of thought followed says: "War, get ready, organize, arouse the people to revenge, fight, or succumb to inevitable national oblivion and eternal servitude." Another channel followed says: "We long for peace on earth, we hunger for good will and

58 ON THE TRAIL OF THE PEACEMAKERS

kindness, our ambitions are for a renaissance of the nobler qualities of human life." The whole Christian clientele in China, native pastors and church members, college and school faculties and foreign missionaries, are yearning for this side of Chinese life to be given a wide privilege. The great big world with its tangle of European geography, its reparation funds, its open seaport privileges, its Yap Islands, its social rumblings and all the rest, has no weightier problem before it than to answer which one of these voices in China shall prevail.

No nation liveth to itself alone anywhere just now, and never will again, but this is preëminently true of China. She cannot of herself ordain which element will prevail, but the courts and conferences of nations can. If she is led to believe that she will be treated justly in the future, she will be in the vanguard of the peace-loving people. If she is forced to believe she is to be traded and juggled as a sop among the bargaining nations, she is going to give the world another baptism of the blood of swords and guns. The date is the only unknown quantity in the latter.

CHINA

Part Two: The Land of Vastness

IN the previous chapter a serious effort was made fully to recognize the danger and tragedy of exasperating China into a military effort to preserve her life and also to make vivid the significance of the deep natural love of China for peace and a desire to move out into a better life free from resort to the dog's method of fighting.

Wherever there are those whose material greed and lust for conquest have led a desire to see China remain impotent, that they may pursue the exploiting method undisturbed, no argument will avail which may enlist coöperation from them, looking to a better day in China. But I am one of those who cherishes a real belief in the world-extended power of that new cult of liberal-minded, God-fearing men and women who are putting justice above gain and brotherhood above insane nationalism. It is important that all of these shall be brought into sympathy with the vastness of things if China is to be helped to become a potent force in the universal international friendship doctrine. I am persuaded that these furious widths and depths and heights of things in China must be reckoned with and patiently dealt with by all who work and pray for the

good of the human race and the peace of the world. As only a casual visitor, I ought perhaps to offer apology for the attempt even to summarize some of these problems in this nation of five thousand years of history. I am reminded of an interview once with a wise old physician of superb medical training and experience who, when I asked him to explain the genesis of inflammatory rheumatism and inquired whether it was a disease of the blood, internal in actual location, or muscular as being from without, paused, thought, and then rather sadly said, "Oh, I really do not know; I could have told you forty years ago." I am quite aware that I will attempt some comments which great men who have been in China forty years would fear to undertake. But I have grown so tired and weary of swift tourists, met in travel, saying, "Why don't they do this?" "Why do they do that?"—people who pretend, at least, to feel astonished not to find order and procedure there, like New York, London, or Paris, and are therefore ready to wipe the whole of China off the map as being no good now and with no prospects in the future! I am sure the workers for world concord in which China is to be a part must take into account some of these issues which are almost beyond the imagination.

First, China is vast in area, population, and inaccessibility. She has about six thousand miles of northern border line and almost the same from farthest north to farthest southern boundary. Her borders bring her into contact with every kind of "ism" in government and religion that the Far and Near East can supply, and most of it of a nature to degrade her people rather than lift them up. She has about

the same number of square miles as all North America and four hundred million people with no common binder—no common sympathy, no common patriotism or religion. I was told that my first address delivered in Japan was liberally reported in the daily papers throughout the entire nation the next morning, a picture of Japanese compactness. Even if the quickest methods were used and there were papers in the farthest points in China it would take three or four months to convey the message. In the United States nearly every man in Seattle has at least talked to somebody from Florida, if indeed he has not been there himself. Not one man in ten thousand in South China has ever heard of North China, much less has heard anybody tell him about it. Peking and Canton are in reality farther apart than Peking and New York City, and these are great modern cities upon the highways of travel. There is no railway from North to South, no direct line of telegraph. The great interior west is an unexplored vastness where the swiftest transportation is the sedan chair upon a coolie's back and where the printing press and the telegraph have not yet found their way. The hurried man from the West who expects China to express herself in national terms quickly must first pause in the presence of this vastness in distance and method of communication.

In the second place, China is vast in resources of possible wealth and a contradictory poverty.

I chanced to be in Peking just when some new statistics were being assembled upon the resources of the nation, and was furnished the latest through the office of the High Industrial Commissioner, the Hon. E. L. Hsieh. They have forty-five thousand million tons of

coal (45,000,000,000,000). I have written this figure out, for my mathematics does not tell me for certain how many ciphers ought to be used. I was told that Shensi Province alone can furnish all the coal now being used in the world for the next one hundred years at twenty-five cents a ton, based upon the present scale of wages. She has one hundred million tons of iron ore stored away in the mountains. She produced in 1920 1,049,191,000 bushels of corn, 148,659,000 bushels of millet, 120,034,000 bushels of wheat, 23,777,000 bushels of barley. I could not get late figures upon beans (an immense asset), silk, ivory, silver, vegetables, and so on. China is not excelled in the world in her riches of acres of minerals, and behind these possibilities there is an abundance of labor that is dependable. I was glad to find that Chinese labor had reached the hour of "organization" and "strikes." Reference will be made later to this significant development. But the fact is, that the supply of good ready labor, born of the soil, and desperately in love with it, is as vast as the work which needs to be done to realize upon the wealth. As I rode days across those great stretches through Manchuria to Peking and on south I was reminded of Minnesota, the Dakotas, Montana and the northwest of my own country. As far as the eye could carry, rice, corn, wheat, barley, millet and bean fields. China has wealth that is simply staggering in possibilities.

Now the confession: She has poverty that no description can portray, the people living in mud and mat houses unfit for humans. Drought and floods have, incidentally, periodically accounted for some of this, but only feebly tell the real reason. Their poverty

has been so long, so constant, so severe, that they have settled down to accept it without much grumbling, having millions hungry all the time. I am told this explains in part, at least, their custom of hanging food, such as fruits, nuts, and vegetables, by the new-made graves, suggesting that hope that at least those passing through the great adventure may find a haven with food enough. The figure by Ernest Poole, "*Beggars sitting on bags of gold*," came to my mind every day I was in China.

The soil has produced for centuries a great yield and is rich now. The mountains are jammed with wealth. The labor is faithful and abundant. Then what is the matter? I think I asked a hundred men where that wealth had gone to, and nobody could answer except by a subdued insinuation, "The people have been persistently robbed by somebody." I believe this is the fact. Who the robbers have been may not be certified. But the crime has been committed. No buildings of ancient glory, no remnants of a once great wealth can be seen. The people of China have been robbed and left as destitute as the poor man on the Jericho road.

Some day this will stop and this wealth be turned into channels of progress, and then China will speak with a new voice among the nations when they sit around conference tables.

In the third place China is vast in internal troubles. Those busy people who are now engaged in readjusting the world will fail utterly in a solution which means permanent world concord unless they are wise enough to take account of the inside vexations of China and render verdicts upon a theory of justice different from that which is demanded of those nations free from such

furious home upheavals. This theory of justice must remember that here is a nation of so many millions of people that nobody pretends to give a close figure upon the population, which, after three thousand years of the rule of "dynasties" and emperors of iron will, has suddenly thrown over the whole régime, kit and bag, and is setting up a republic. More patience would have been vouchsafed to them had this marvelous revolution occurred without a great world war being thrust into the scene, with tasks of world reconstruction which have tested the best strength and genius of the most perfectly organized nations. China has been called upon to battle with foes within and foes without at the same time. A little remembrance of history is sufficient to show that other nations passing through similar transitions have not had smooth sailing for a good many years. The American and French revolutions are apt illustrations. Unhappy as the present hour is with them, they have done enough sight better than Russia up to date. In justice we must also acknowledge the fact that just now nobody seems to know where the government of China really is. In Peking they act as though it was there, but nobody five hundred miles away thinks so. There is a total army of 1,500,000 in uniform and more or less (mostly less) equipped, but the Peking authorities cannot control more than 8,000 of these. The Peking group can't collect a dollar of taxes outside that immediate province, except a small export and import item. The outside world talks of the "North" and the "South," but as a matter of fact, there are at least five separate autonomous governments which pay no tribute or respect to Peking. Some day, somewhere, somehow, they will get together and a

central authority will come forth. Till that time they are pitifully impotent in national expression and cannot take that place of power in the counsels of the nations which their population and wealth would seem to accord them.

In the fourth place, China is vast in courage. As I went day after day discovering new "problems," most of them so tremendous that any one of fifty would seem to be enough to wipe out hope, and no tangible solution being offered by anybody for them, and to the question I advanced till I grew ashamed of it myself, "What are you going to do about it?" being given the quiet answer, "We don't know," I marveled that there was a spark of courage left in the heart of any thinking Chinaman. But there is, and of a wonderful type. Here is a nation of resources indicated, yet treated as a child. One of the strongest men of the new Cabinet [this is written in February, 1922; there may be another government by April] said to me: "We seem to be the curios for the other nations to buy and sell." Looking out of my window in Peking I could see the flags of the nations wavering over the Legations, which are more than the name implies, for they are backed by their soldiers, on the ground, ready to compel obedience to their proposals. Japanese influence is very evident through the north country. In Shanghai, the "International City," is there, not as guest but ever present, dominating the whole place. To the south, Hongkong and the British; still farther south, the French and the Dutch. "Spheres of influence," denoting the powerful presence of the foreigners, are so much in evidence that the Chinese very naturally wonder whether they really have anything to say about their own country or

not. While in Peking, in a most delightful interview with the American minister, Dr. Schurman, he told me that that day the Chinese authorities had asked him to request his government to "*permit them*" to increase import duties from three to five per cent., and that the same request was being made of other major powers. Imagination fails to suggest what would happen if such a proposition were made at Washington, or London, or Paris, or Tokyo, when those governments were discussing tariffs. But that is a picture of China. She must ask outsiders for permission to establish her own rates of income.

Small wonder if they are beginning to say they must *fight*. I have spoken of their wealth, but I did not see one spot where those riches gave promise of becoming available but that some white man or a Japanese was sitting on watch, to grab it upon some pretense or other. The whole process is so humiliating that it would seem as though they would give up in disgust and despair. But they don't, and their calm courage in adversity, in darkness, in confusion is great and ought to challenge the admiration, sympathy, and coöperation of all the fair-minded people of the world. All the world applauded Belgium in 1914 when the German hosts started their invasion and she resisted with her small army. "Wonderful courage," was the verdict. France stood the hammering of that same powerful army in 1916 around Verdun and sang all the while, "They shall not pass." Again everybody shouted about their "courage." In March, 1918, on the west, came that baptism of blood and death to the British. But the bulldog grit won universal praise. "Great courage." Others won such plaudits also on those fields. But I

firmly believe that if all those experiences are pressed into one the sum of the courage necessary would not be so great as that I came in contact with in China. From public officials to merchants, to college professors, to manufacturers, to mechanics, to bankers, and all the way to the coolie, with his back pretty nearly breaking under his load, every man in China is sure they are going to win out. Of all the courage I have met or read about in books, the most sublime is that I found in China. The rest of the world does not know how properly to appreciate real sportsmanship if it fails to give them an honest, square opportunity in the future.

The truth in a nutshell. I am not going to hazard any fixed opinion of what the final destiny of China is to be. The nation may utterly collapse with internal dissensions. The economic weight may completely bankrupt her. The greed of other nations may some day devour her. A lot of things may happen, but as a world peace asset the vital thing is for a just appraisal to be made. One man sees China in poverty, in ignorance, in dirt, in dissensions, in weakness, in immorality. He can make his case with the barroom crowd of almost any Far Eastern hotel. I heard one, en route by train from Canton to Hongkong, say he had traveled all over China and had never seen a Christian. Another man looks in a different direction and he sees China awakening and rising to power. The real test is *leadership*. Has she leaders who can find the way? I was never surer of anything than that this question can be answered in the affirmative, and that these new great Chinese personalities will solve the problem if the rest of the world will keep hands off and give them a fair chance. I met university and college presidents of

as fine a grade of scholarship and administrative ability as are known anywhere in the West. Dr. Chang Po Ling, of Tientsin, would grace any university. I met church leaders of vision, courage, and personal qualities quite as significant as anything I have come in contact with in thirty years. Rev. Cheng Ching Yi, D.D., of the Chinese Continuation Committee, Shanghai, is not surpassed by any man of my acquaintance in this regard. I met student leaders that are not second to any I have known in the West. Mr. T. Z. Koo, of the Student Department of the Young Men's Christian Association, reminded me of a John R. Mott or Robert E. Speer in the making. I met manufacturers who are the last word in up-to-dateness. The great Dr. C. T. Wang, scholar, religious leader, politician, is also the managing director of as fine a cotton mill as I ever saw—three thousand people at work, mill running day and night, at Woosung. I met bankers, lawyers, doctors of a number one grade. I met student groups that would not be ashamed in the presence of Harvard, Yale, Cambridge, or Oxford men. I saw girls' schools which reminded me of Vassar, Mt. Holyoke, and Smith. The leaders are in China and more are rapidly being produced. I found any number of self-supporting churches, big, strong congregations. Perhaps no one item impressed me so much in contrast with the memories of an earlier visit in 1913 as did this one. I was shown through a beautiful library building at St. John's College, Shanghai, which had just been opened, all paid for and every dollar given by the alumni. I arrived in Hongkong just after the Morrison Memorial Church, which has never had a cent of outside help, had voted \$90,000 to build a new church and at the same

meeting voted \$1,000 each to two new churches just starting to build.

The same week the Board of Directors of the Young Men's Christian Association had voted to build another building to cost \$100,000, all of which they will raise themselves. These illustrations can be multiplied indefinitely. They prove leadership. If China is treated fairly, if the people who believe in world peace will help her in the period of transition, she will be a powerful factor in establishing the better order of brotherhood in the world. If she is treated unfairly and beaten back in her struggle, the sense of injustice will linger and some day break out in war. China has great possibilities for peace among men, or more war, and the decision is more in the hands of foreigners than the case of any other people on earth.

CHAPTER VII

SINGAPORE

The Home of Mixed Races and Ideas

IF the earlier chapter upon Honolulu had not been written till after the visit to Singapore of the Malayan country, some few sentences might have been modified, for there are several elements in which Singapore can easily compete with Honolulu, and in some of these claim superiority. It is a very interesting thing to observe that all tourists we met in Singapore at once asked, "Have you visited Honolulu?" "Which one do you like better?" We were asked exactly these questions by three Americans within twenty-four hours after arrival.

I was not in Singapore as an expert as to which one of these unique tropical cities may claim preëminence of climate, foliage, or scenery and will not now enter a discussion upon this point, but will try to convey the facts which grew upon me every hour of the ten days spent there, bearing upon Singapore as one of the centers which may eventually bind the Christian world together in a peace compact strong enough to make wars a thing of the past. I may say at the outset that I am thoroughly convinced that this Malayan peninsula is vital to the universal peace program and that there

are strategic possibilities there which ought to be cultivated earnestly in this respect.

Something has happened here in this remote strip of country, the farthest tip south where Asia reaches, which ought to be studied, not only for its value immediately as a brotherhood area, but as well for its lessons to other territories where complicated populations are threatening the peace of the world. To get an estimate of these facts, it is necessary to dig back about one hundred and five years in Malayan history.

Then this was one of the wildest spots on earth, if the historians are correct. "The wild man of Borneo" had nothing on the wild pirates of Malaya. The whole country was a savage, heathen jungle of robbers and murderers. If "Captain Kid" and "Jesse James" and "Gyp the Blood" had been here in their "best" days they couldn't have taught these natives anything in the game of robbery and slaughter. They have a sort of an all-round comprehensive word in the native tongue, "Mengamok," which describes what happened in those days only a little more than a hundred years ago. It means a kind of wholesale killing, a festival of slaughter, a fourth of July of blood shedding. It was when the savage gave himself to unrestrained murder and fought and fought till everybody in reach was killed or he himself was dead—a regular carnival of human slaughter, to which they looked forward with the pleasure which the young boy now has in anticipation of Christmas. These straits, the only highway for commerce East and West, were impassable. Unnumbered ships which drew too near were never heard of again. It is recorded that back somewhere in the 1700s the Rajah of Johore offered to give the whole

thing to an English Captain Hamilton, who declined the present with thanks. This was the Malayan Straits Settlements in 1800.

Soon after that a young Britisher, Stamford Raffles, afterward knighted, appeared. This was not the first or last time that things *have happened*, when some Britisher appears on the scene. More direct reference will be made to this later, but as an understanding of the influence of this spot of earth and water now, a few things need to be noted. Sir Stamford Raffles bought it and paid for it with good English money and hoisted the Union Jack. He was a God-fearing Christian man, he read only the Bible and religious books upon Sunday. He had the Roger Williams idea of justice to the natives. He treated them honestly and kindly. He had visions of the future, he is spoken of yet as the man of "long, long thoughts." He was appointed the first Lieutenant Governor of the Colony. Singapore and the Straits Settlements are, to an immense degree, just a story of Sir Stamford Raffles and what he planted there. There is a "Raffles Square," the business district; a "Raffles School," a "Raffles Library," a "Raffles Museum," and a "Raffles Monument." One hundred years and this seed has produced what I saw there in 1922: A beautiful city of gardens, lovely homes, wide boulevards, prosperous banks and business houses, churches, missions, schools, libraries, a Young Men's Christian Association, the finest kept one I was ever in, and a Young Women's Christian Association. The city proper is modern to a degree which would seem impossible in that spot only seventy miles from the Equator. The country is rich, first, in rubber plantations. Two thirds of the whole world

supply comes from these islands. Tin, one half the world's supply, comes from here. Spices—it would seem as though they are growing enough pepper to furnish all of that hot ingredient necessary for the universe. Cocoanuts, such groves as I have never seen before anywhere. Fruits a hundred kinds, oranges, pappai, bananas, mangoes, mangosteen, durian, guavas, and melons, although they buy peaches, pears, and prunes from the United States, and apples and grapes from Australia. The harbor was a constant study to me—ships from every nation on earth coming and going. The annual tonnage of the port is over 15,000,000 tons, with a valuation of \$811,000,000.

Out of the heathen jungle in a century, there has emerged this beautiful city of 400,000 prosperous people, the pivot of an area of wide significance. One could only wish that some method might be discovered by which Westminster and Washington could always be led to send out representatives of the Christian character of Sir Stamford Raffles; not only would the benefit in trade and economic profit be great, but the peace and happiness of the world would be set forward by advances not yet known and some of the fierce jealousies and suspicions of the Western white man could be removed.

The peculiar interest in all this to me was not the streets, the business houses, the ships, or the flower gardens, but the fact of such a population at this place at this time when the world is in anguish for a peace plan of life which will save the coming generations from the butchery war has been imposing. Singapore has an immense opportunity to become essential in this

program, and I am afraid has not yet realized this fact. Since leaving San Francisco this was the first large city visited in which I did not find some kind of international friendship organization, World Alliance group or League of Nations Union. I could not find anything of the kind and was conscious of the fact that, while they were glad to see me, they were in fear and trembling about what I was going to say and, like the chap who has to take a dose of bitter medicine, were wishing the thing were over as quickly as possible. I was astonished at some of the questions I was asked by those who seemed to be surprised that there was any peculiar anxiety about the war issues. But after getting past this rather superficial impression, I began to catch the deep facts.

First, Singapore has a mixture of different kinds of color, races, types, and religions not equaled in this great world. I am absolutely certain of this. Reference has been made to some places having this distinction in the Pacific Ocean, but when Singapore is reached no exceptions need to be made. Here are found first in number, Chinese from both North and South, Japanese, Singhalese, Siamese, Javanese, Bornese, Indians, from the Sikhs of the North to the Bengalis and on to the Tamils of the South, Burmese, Sakeis, the original natives, Malayans, Eurasians, Portuguese, Americans, Australians, and British Islanders. I thought the "Tower of Babel" must have fallen near Raffles Square as I stood there and listened to that clatter of tongues and studied those tints of complexions. I thought I knew mixtures, but I had to see the conglomeration when I got into Singapore to get a little faint idea of how many kinds of folks it

takes to make up a world. I do not think there is a color in the rainbow, or a tint of the sky with the rising or setting sun, or a blackness of a moonless, starless night, which is not represented upon somebody's skin at Singapore. Naturally the truly great men are just anxious about what this mixture may develop and have not therefore been pressing the world situation to the front very conspicuously. But the conviction is none the less there and must be given expression. I have spoken of the population of Singapore as about 400,000, but the Malay Peninsula has over 6,000,000—almost equal to that of Canada or Australia—and in those adjacent South Sea Islands there are close to 50,000,000 people and Singapore is easily the dominating center, and will be the leavening peace influence of the whole, when once her Christian forces become organized. I was made grateful in the realization of two facts before leaving there.

In the first place, while the outspoken international friendship doctrine from the viewpoint of organization has not been as active as in some places, the quality of leadership is not second to any visited. The pastor of the English Presbyterian Church, a veritable Scot, Rev. Douglas, and the principal of the boys' school, Mr. Dixon, are as intense on the world brotherhood topic as any men I ever met on land or sea. Bishop Bickley, of the American Methodist Church, who presided at the first meeting, is equally in earnest upon it, as are all his associates so far as I could learn. Not at any place have I heard a truer indictment of the whole theory of war than from Bishop Ferguson, of the Church of England, who took the chair at the second meeting. He left no loophole for a militarist phi-

losophy to get through. Singapore is highly equipped with rich personalities for this great ideal.

In the second place, I was grateful to see the persistent determination to make permanent in organized form the sentiment which had been quickened there. I shall remember longest the last meeting, a group of twenty-four men representing the best in business, educational, political, and religious life who came together to consider ways and means of going forward. Among them was Mr. David G. Stead, the vice-president of the Australian League of Nations Union, who brought a tremendous testimony on the Australian peace sentiment. Not a doubt was expressed in that room but that war was a menace to all the good of life, and they voted with deep earnestness to organize a Singapore League of Nations Union to take up not only the issues of the League of Nations, but the whole question of extending the ideals of world peace and universal brotherhood throughout these South Sea islands with their vast populations, which are to be developed either as peaceful citizens of the future, or as warriors to wage conflict upon each other, as well as eventually to measure swords with the white men. Thus here in the glory of the South Seas, amid its mysterious peoples and innumerable problems, beset with such possibilities of strife and revolution, there is a group of some of God's choicest personalities, who have set themselves to meeting their part in setting the world free from the voice of guns and swords and filling it with the music of peace and good will.

CHAPTER VIII

INDIA

The Land of Turmoil

OF all the countries visited, no one presents such an almost impossible condition to describe, from the viewpoint of probable friendly internationalism, as India. It seems on the surface to be just one vast conglomeration of contradictions. The so-called "best informed" men differ upon many points where it would seem as though there would be common judgment. Japan and China present some confused ideas, but when thought of in contrast with India they become as simple as the twos of the multiplication table. India is a nation of turmoil, discontent, unrest, agitation, with threatenings of immediate revolution, rebellion, war. I am not too confident of some of the conclusions reached; they may be exploded in a month, while on some others a feeling of absolute certainty is entertained.

For all of them, however, I am more indebted to personal interviews and conferences with small groups than has been the case with any other of the nations to which I have referred. I sought diligently to know the mind of those who seemed to be in positions which would give them the true facts, and I find writing now the more difficult because I must differ radically with

some of these, among whom are not a few highly esteemed friends of many years. Whatever the truth may be about causes or remedies, two fundamental facts are to be clearly recognized:

First, India, with its 325,000,000 people, is the world's storm center of jealousies and fomented discord. Europe is not happy, and outbreaks there would be no surprise; China is restless; Japan is suspicious and threatening; America is far from tranquillity; South Africa is in the throes of terrific industrial strife, and Egypt and Mesopotamia are always asking for something. But India surpasses them all in the depth of her grievances and the wide barrier between what she is asking and what is proposed to be granted.

Second, there can be no universal peace, friendship, and brotherhood till some remedy is found which will effectively quiet this turmoil. Delay may not mean immediately more war on a wide scale, but it does mean an unsettling of world affairs, so long as it continues in its present state. Humanity needs something more than the order to "cease firing" which was given upon November 11, 1918. It must have international friendship and good will, brotherhood and coöperation. History is filled with proof that no armed force, be it ever so overwhelming, can coerce peace and quietness. The disturbance in India is a world problem, and the whole human race is more or less involved. The British Government may for the moment be facing the brunt of the struggle, but eventually it will involve the entire world.

Reference has been made to the contradictions of India. They are after this fashion: In the first place, if this people were free from the present annoying ele-

ments and were left to live out that which they so persistently profess, they ought to be the leaders of all the peace movements of the world. No suggestion is to be made as to the wisdom of granting what is asked by their agitations, or as to the sincerity of their professions. This is merely a statement of fact. Their professions would give them the supreme seat of honor in any peace conference or convention. This is evidenced by the presence of 225,000,000 Hindus overwhelmingly in the majority in the country whose religion forbids taking life for any cause. Their doctrine of "reincarnation" is so sweeping that the very lowest of the animals become sacred, to say nothing of human beings. Life is precious in their sight beyond any other race that ever existed. If this is real to them, as I have no reason to doubt, war becomes a thing of perfect horror to the Hindu, and he ought to be the peace advocate par-excellence. One of the first Indians with whom I talked, a saintly old Christian minister of forty years' experience, said, "You are now in the land of the lovers of peace, but in the land of the next great war."

That the peace idea ought to manifest itself in India in a more than ordinary way, is witnessed by the tremendous power of the "non-resistant" movement, which has swept over the nation like a miracle. Leaving aside all arguments pro and con about the sincerity of this method, the fact is that it has worked in India, and I do not believe any other people on earth would have responded to such an idea. "If you are arrested, do not resist; if you are attacked, do not fight back." This is the method by which they propose to change government and all existing methods of procedure

which have been in operation for two hundred years. Bishop Frederick B. Fisher, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, wrote a very remarkable book some years ago about India under the title, "The Silent Revolution." It was then written as a record of existing facts; it has now become strangely prophetic.

France back yonder in history had a revolution, but nobody talked of a "non-resistant" method. America had one in 1776, but it wasn't "bloodless." China has had a few, but none of them "silent." Japan has shared her part, but never by "quiet" ideas. Russia had one recently, but "force" was the implement. India alone would listen and respond to such a way, and ought therefore to be kind of a peace John the Baptist to the world instead of the probable soil of more bloodshed.

There may be added what those who have lived long in the country comment upon, viz.: The Indian is by nature a docile, quiet, peace-loving type. The northern races of whom this is not true are a decided minority. A day in Ireland without a street fight would seem unnatural; a fight of that kind is almost unknown in India. When terribly wrought up they sometimes *push*, but they do not fight. Like the Quakers, they can fight furiously if pressed beyond endurance, but it is not their instinct. They have much in common with the Chinese in this respect. Here, then, stand these facts which if unencumbered would give them one hundred per cent as peace leaders. But the cross-currents are so vicious, so obvious, so obstinate that these virtues are submerged, and for the present, at least, of small influence. The other side of the contradiction is that the student of history would say that

there are three or four causes working there which can result only in war.

The Gandhi non-violent revolution, if persisted in and permitted to come to full fruition, means armed conflict. No manner of resolutions or messages sent out can change the eventual method either of Mahatma Gandhi's followers in prosecuting their campaign or the Government's method of suppressing it. He and his committee of the Indian Congress are advocating "civil disobedience" to all the established laws, properly enacted, of the land. Police force only can compel obedience. The genuine seriousness of this is understood only when considered in the light of what they are really asking for, and declaring they will have. There may be a good many subdivisions in their ranks, but fundamentally the bottom principle is "India for the Indians." This interpreted, means the exclusion of the white man except as a casual visitor or trader. The Gandhi doctrine says he is a menace, that he is contaminating the otherwise pure stream of native life. The British Government is the first point of attack, and they want it to leave, bag and baggage. Then it goes on down the line, until the government officers, the soldiers, the educators and missionaries from the West are cleaned out and gone. This is the Gandhi program when fully in operation. Behind the scenes the strangest thing in it is the temporary support of 70,000,000 Mohammedans. They are giving allegiance not because they love Gandhi more, or because they have suddenly ceased to love the sword, their faithful weapon of seventeen hundred years, less, but because they hate the Christian Westerner and the British Government more than anything else just now. One

prominent Mohammedan leader, with a glare in his eye and his clenched hand upraised, said to me in comment upon their support of the non-resistant, non-violent movement, "By Allah, we will some day get our chance." He left no lingering doubt in my mind of what he thought would be the eventual method. One of Mr. Gandhi's closest associates told me they had "no confidence in the sincerity of the Mohammedan support." Thus this so-styled peaceful revolution has in it perils not only to the peace of India, but to the peace of the world.

This statement would not be true to its real purpose if it failed to record that most men met in India believe in the sincerity of Mr. Gandhi and credit him and his associates with pure motives. Those who try to impeach his character or impugn his noble purposes are probably false to facts. His arrest, his trial, and his quiet plea "Guilty" all combine to give weight to this fact. He attempted no dramatics, no attack either by act or spoken word upon the officers, but with profound sincerity accepted the penalty as a part of a great movement in behalf of liberty. But whatever may be the judgment of coming generations upon this marvelous phenomenon of the Gandhi wave of influence, one thing is sure: It represents in this hour the possibility of the outbreak of violence and the answer of armed force not to be confined to India.

As though this were not enough for one people to carry, there must be noted the "Brahmin vs. non-Brahmin" struggle in the south. The common people have grown weary of the rule, tyranny, and oppression of the lazy Brahmin priest. He has for centuries held the offices, levied and collected taxes, reported to no-

body, and condemned folks at will to perdition or paradise. The end has come to this order, and the Brahmin is suddenly finding himself shunted out of power. The forces are being marshaled, and, were it not for other more spectacular agitations, this one would be a headliner in the papers. This represents a long struggle and may upset all India before it is over.

Added to these must be again noted the Moham-medan *vs.* Hindu *vs.* Buddhism *vs.* Christianity problem. Comment has been made on this question, but it is more than merely Moslem antipathy to Western government. If the Gandhi movement should succeed on any given day and be granted every demand, a ten times worse issue would appear the next morning: *The Moslems believe they are called of God to rule Asia and Africa quickly*, that they may thus early have all energies freed to meet the Western satanic powers. Hinduism in India is a menace to this ambition, and their thirst is keen to settle supremacy with this competing religion. Of no fact am I more convinced than this—India turned over to the Gandhi cabinet would be India in religious armed struggle or surrendered to the Moslems. No peace to India and no common peace to the world till this issue is solved.

Again, India has a caste warfare to be settled either by arbitration, which involves the whole revision of Hinduism, or else by a series of outbreaks and riots. For ages the low castes, born to degradation, have plodded their weary way without a protest. There are 50,000,000 of these poor starved slaves, so low they must not drink from the wells of pure water. They are the "untouchables," worse than dogs. But something has happened, and they are organizing and de-

manding a chance. While we were in India they held a convention in the north. Thirty thousand delegates attended. One of the ruling princes (of whom India has about eight hundred, at least 799 too many) addressed them in a speech of congratulation that the time had come when they were asking to be treated as human beings. One must know something of the depth of the caste system to realize what this means. The Brahmin priests would prefer war any day to this, for "their trade is in danger." After other woes are settled, this one will last a long time. It may be carried to success without violence, but it certainly has possibilities of civil armed strife.

These are not all the causes of unrest. The industrial question is here, of which a later word will be said in common with other countries. But these major ones are enough to command the deep sympathy of all who long for the better human life of friendliness and coöperation throughout the world, and prayer for those sincere men and women, foreign and native, who are trying to find the way for India.

One more question must be raised. Is India worth the struggle? Attention was called earlier to the importance of India as a world problem. I am aware that to a certain type of uninformed person this may seem absurd. One man on shipboard, in speaking of the unhappy conditions existing there at the present time, said, "The white man may as well leave it anyway, for it is a good-for-nothing country with no future."

In contrast with this superficial view I was amazed by the figures given me at various times by different men concerning the economic possibilities of the future.

Its resources are an unknown quantity even yet to the best engineers. Agriculture, which has been almost the entire pursuit, is still in its infancy. Two hundred and twenty-five million acres were under cultivation in 1920, not more than half of the reasonably arable area being worked; but cotton, rice, wheat, corn, jute, sugar, and tea in enormous quantities were produced. Now the thrill of the whole nation is the mineral and industrial revival. In 1920 the coal output was 22,660,000 tons, with deposits unknown in capacity. One of the ablest engineers of the British Government told me there was iron ore enough in the Nagpur district to care for the entire steel industry east of the Suez Canal. The oil movement is just getting under way, and yet in one year 306,000,000 gallons were put on the market. Asbestos, tin, manganese, gold, and silver in vast deposits are yet to be brought into service. Now the slogan is "from hand to the machine."

To my surprise I was told emphatically that India is not overpopulated. Her poverty is largely the result of living on the land and buying European goods at European prices. The revival of industry is on. Two hundred and sixty-three cotton mills were in operation while I was there, operating 6,714,000 spindles owned and managed for the most part by Indians. Woolen and paper mills are springing up. A paper mill operator told me they had bamboo and other fibrous plants enough growing in India to furnish the paper for the whole world when they get the mills built, and prophesied that India would change the paper market of every nation inside of twenty-five years. Even the brewery business has been taught them by the Europeans. One immense new building was pointed out to me as the

sixteenth brewery to be erected within a few years. It seemed to me a pity to see this as one more blot on the already besmirched record of the Western Christian, and also to know that some day it would have to be rebuilt for a decent purpose; for the rising temperance sentiment of India will never cease till the alcohol job is finished.

Therefore, the geography makers, the Association of Nations or League of Nations builders, the World Court administrators, the universal peace and brotherhood societies must all reckon with and coöperate with great, troubled India. These rather sobering comments would be incomplete if no distinct reference were to be made to the evidences of the intense sentiment among great numbers for a campaign in behalf of the anti-war theory. At first I was told by some that meetings and conferences upon this theme at this time would probably be fruitless. But I met no audience or group which did not respond with zeal to the message. One of Mr. Gandhi's most intimate followers, after hearing one address, called upon me to say that he was confident Mr. Gandhi would be glad to have such a message delivered in every town and village throughout the land. A British government official, himself a soldier, was most cordial and persistent in urging that some arrangement be made by which I could extend the time of my visit in India for a widespread campaign in behalf of the hope of good will among men. Another man in an important official position, in pressing the same request, said: "This is the very thing we need. All of us here, Indians and Europeans, must be lifted out of our prejudices to see the larger world's issues and to be made conscious of

the folly of war and what it will do to us if it breaks out. *War is madness.*" Then, again, as in every other place, the missionaries, every last one of them I met, of every kind and description, were united in heart, prayer, hope, and effort for the coming of harmony and the annihilation of the war spirit. Taken as a whole, the Christian population of India is not large in comparison to the total, but it is tremendous in influence and is solid against the war theory of the militarists.

India has a powerful company of all kinds of people—Europeans and Indians, government officials and civilians, Christians and non-Christians—who believe the hour has fully come when the brute force method of dynamite, powder, and swords ought to be supplanted by conference, arbitration, and coöperation. The sentiment is strong, and, although weakened by lack of organization, cohesion, and leadership, will eventually be a real factor in helping to bind this element together throughout the world. India, even in turmoil, strife, and discontent, is not without great personalities who see beyond the present the dawn of an era of friendliness among men and nations.

CHAPTER IX

EGYPT

The Land of the Mysterious King

AT no place were our expectations aroused to a higher pitch than when we arrived at Port Said in Egypt and proceeded at once to Cairo. We had traveled through old countries, nations, and peoples, but here we were to enter the scene where the human race began its struggle to fulfil the plan and purpose of the Creator, and in some respects it was to be a land where, although so ancient, they seemed to be starting all over again, as a man who has been lost will sometimes strike the trail anew and command all his forces for one more great effort towards the real goal. The Egyptians were once again making a struggle for world recognition. Our entry there was upon March 21 and the bulletins on ship had announced that a "King" had ascended to the throne and the coronation had taken place upon the day before, March 20. Disappointment had been very keen that we were unable to reach the capital city in time to witness the glory of the event. Crowning kings is regarded by Americans as something rather unique and unusual, and here was a golden opportunity missed by only twenty-four hours. I felt certain that if I could have been present I would

have been able to make the home folks green with envy by relating the dazzle of the spectacle.

Having missed the event itself, the next best thing, it seemed, would be to get as quickly as possible the impressions of those who had been more favored the day before and to find out just what this event would mean as related to the rest of the big world. Would this new monarch be for peace or war, friendship or jealousy, brotherhood or hatred? These seemed to be the most important things to find out about him, for I had long since been convinced that kings are of only two kinds—"good" and "bad." Very few in all history have failed to classify distinctly under one or the other of these definitions. As an advocate of the peace idea, I was restless to know where this new one belonged. It really seemed a strange thing which had happened, for in our wanderings about the world the trend had seemed all away from the throne to democracy, from the one man unit in power to the voice of the people in suffrage and open parliaments. The Great War had been waged to make democracy safe, and yet here was a nation which, to the outsider, seemed to be turning the clock backwards.

With all these queries I started searching amid the "ruins of Cairo" for the true facts. The first rude awakening was to discover that there were no evidences left anywhere of the big events in connection with the coronation—no great arches over the boulevards, no flags up (I was told there had been a few, but they were all down the next morning), no streets strewn with bunting, or other signs of the joy of the folks. Not one single man mentioned the incident to me unless I introduced the subject, and then there was a cynical

smile, a little nod of the head, and in most cases a wink. I was naturally bewildered. Cairo on that morning was a hundred times more concerned over collecting fees from a new American tourist party of 684 people which had just landed than they were over talking about a king. I said to one resident of whom I inquired and got no information, "I can't understand this; for in White Plains, New York, where I live, we make more fuss over the introduction of a new traffic policeman on Main Street than you do over the coronation of a king." His droll answer was, "Probably that means more to you than this does to us."

Slowly a few conclusions were arrived at. One was the fact that the thing which had happened wasn't what the people had been clamoring for. The cables had been for months telling of riots in the streets, of the students holding great meetings and organizing processions, and of occasional violence to life, all as an expression of the demand of the people for freedom from British rule, and ordinarily one would expect to meet great rejoicing and exultant glee over the new king and national independence. But instead there was absolute public indifference and an undertone of disgust. A little searching revealed the truth that the people had been anxious and indeed many of them desperately in earnest for "independence," but none except a cult of office-hungry politicians had been asking for a monarchy. The mass of the people are to-day like those who, having cried for "bread," have been given a "stone." The nobler, better class are stunned by what has taken place and believe their present status is worse than the former. It is not amiss to add right here that the longer I searched the more convinced I

became that this development, so much against the desire of the people, is almost a guarantee of trouble in the future. Unless all signs fail, the thing will have to be done over again, either by the present régime yielding to the pressure of popular demand or by violence in some form. Not one person of all those interviewed believed the present system would last for any considerable length of time.

A second conclusion reached was, that if a king was to be granted to them the one they got was about the last man on earth they would have chosen. I do not know but that he is the best qualified man in Egypt for the job, but I do know that the mass of the people do not want him, and that if any method of public choice had been used he would never have been on the throne. One simon-pure Egyptian, a Mohammedan, a man of great social and financial power, told me he thought that of fifty so-styled princes, possibly eligible, this man would have been about "forty-ninth" in the choice of the citizens. On the one hand, his profession to be a Mohammedan is not accepted by the leaders of the faith. They do not trust him. The depth of this feeling was evidenced by the students of one of the colleges, who, upon hearing that their president was invited to the reception which followed the coronation, called upon him and said they did not want him to represent them (the students), as they refused to recognize the new ruler as their king. On the other hand, the old Coptic church, whose people had earnestly joined in the petition for independence, utterly repudiates his leadership as representing their desires for the rehabilitation of the nation. Then, again, the pure sons of the soil do not accept him as an Egyptian. A few years

ago when the Albanian throne was vacant he announced himself as an Albanian and applied for the position of king there. The people are being sternly reminded of this incident now, and there is widespread feeling that he has been a throne hunter for several years and would probably rather have a European job now than the present one, for two reasons. First, it would satisfy his social ambitions a little more, and second, it would have promise of a degree of permanence which is not very assuring in Egypt. The saying is, "He is an Albanian by blood, an Italian by education, a Frenchman by sympathy, a Britisher for orders, and an Egyptian for an office."

Another conclusion which I came to was that it is very difficult to get a true estimate of his character. Brushing aside all the mooted questions of the method of his selection, his ancestry, and his training, I felt that the important question for the outside world and the bearing upon international brotherhood was to learn about his true character and ability. For in years of strain this always becomes the determining factor. If Irvin Cobb wants to write the funniest thing he ever penned he ought to go to Cairo and quietly go about asking different people concerning the personal character and fitness of King Fuad. To this question, here are some of the answers I received:

"He is positively unfit, morally and mentally, to be the ruler of this people."

"His morals will break down inside of twelve months."

"He is ignorant of Egypt or Egyptian needs."

"His selection as king is an insult to the womanhood of Egypt."

"He is just a dummy set up by the British Government to blind the people."

"He is a deep scholar and a man of fine artistic tastes."

"He is a very devout man—an ardent Mohammedan."

"He is a man of unusual administrative abilities and will make a noble record as king."

Out of this mass of contradictions it became rather difficult to form definite ideas, but I did discover this: the people who gave the first set of answers were usually those who are most concerned with moral, spiritual, and religious interests. Right or wrong, this is their estimate of the man. The people who gave the second set are those more or less mixed up in politics, socially ambitious, or who may have to ask favors of the government. Right or wrong, sincere or otherwise, this is what they say. Here, then, is the story of a mysterious king. Mysterious in how he got his throne. Certainly not because his own country wanted him. He seems to have been appointed at Downing Street, London. Small wonder the folks are asking, "Why?" Mysterious in his qualifications. Nothing in the past that anybody knows about has qualified him. Some very blunt people say he was appointed by Britain because they could no longer withstand the demand of the Egyptians for fulfillment of the promise for freedom made during the war, and finally put this chap up because he would obey their orders and stop the agitation for independence. For the sake of the peace of the world and the good name of Britain, it is to be hoped that time and developments will fully disprove this theory, which is so current at present.

There are a few places in the Far and Near East which, while small in comparative population, are exceedingly important as centers of world discord and possible cause of more wars. Egypt is one of these places. To understand it in a few days is impossible, but the casual visitor comes to realize the absence of a common binder or unit of the people, the lack of which makes internal disturbances easily possible and increases the tendency for these factions to begin bargaining with outside forces for assistance in trying to overthrow anybody who chances to be in power. It is easy to find the Japanese spirit, the Chinese central purpose, or Indian patriotism. But no such rallying center is known in Egypt. I thought I found three almost entirely separate, distinct types of people, with nothing in common which would stand in a severe strain.

First, there are the sincere Egyptians, who love the country and whose hearts burn with a deep longing to see the old nation rise again. These are men and women who are not ambitious for office or gain, but who remember the ancient glory of the land and would give life itself willingly, if need be, to see the ruins turn to new life. I talked with men in whom this sentiment seemed pure, noble, unsullied. Here was the oldest known nation; their ancestors built the first civilization; they loved the soil. The ruins on the Nile, the marvelous collection in the museum at Cairo, the matchless grandeur of the Pyramids tell that their devotion in life and their hope in death were consuming for the permanent greatness of Egypt. This spirit is not gone entirely. There is a sincere element whose wish for Egypt as a free, self-governing nation is not spoiled by intrigue.

Second, there is a political group hungry for office and its emoluments. I do not know of any place where, in so limited a time, I have heard of so many politically ambitious men as around Cairo. The air is full of a kind of feeling that somebody is about to cut up a big political "melon," and fellows of all brands, shades, types, and past records are hanging around to be in at the carving. Here, as everywhere, they are a curse. The place is infested with a sort of a ten-cent aristocracy. People who have failed to shine in splendor socially anywhere else are making a last mighty endeavor to be in the ring at Cairo, and a political job of any kind, name or description is believed to be an asset in getting one's name in the social register.

Third, there is a dangerous majority of "don't cares." I was astonished in conversations with men born of the soil to have them answer again and again when asked the effect of the new government, "Oh, I am not interested," "One king or one government is as good as another." This is not so surprising, however, when thought of in the light of their history. They have had five thousand years of ups and downs, all kinds of kings and rulers and sultans, most of whom have finally betrayed the people and left them in the humiliating dust of defeat. No wonder they can't get excited over the coronation of another king. I overheard a spirited conversation among a group at Alexandria, five of whom were Egyptians, and all of them said, "We do not care who is king in Cairo—that has nothing to do with us."

The "don't cares" are interested in three questions which to them seem really significant: First, "Will taxes increase or decrease?" They have known a time

when the king took ninety per cent of the crop from the peasants and the poverty of the land to-day is a history of the common people having been robbed of the reward of their toil. They do want to know if those unhappy hours can come back again. They are not sure that one more king will have any effect upon this, but if so, then they will be heard from.

Second, "Shall we be able to get water on the land?" This is a big question. For over five hundred miles yonder stretches the marvelous valley of the Nile. Once in every year for two months God has so ordered the upper rains that the whole low land is flooded, and with the water automatic fertilization takes place. There is nothing else like it on earth. Vegetables, wheat, oats, barley, corn, cotton, alfalfa, simply rush to harvest. Having spent most of my younger life as a farmer and all my years in contact with the agricultural problem, I looked with keen admiration upon those wonderful crops in the Nile valley, worthy of the finest farming district anywhere in the United States. Of some of these three bounteous crops are gathered each year. But following the flood these fields must have water from the irrigation canals. Egypt's history is full of bribery and crooked dealing over this water question. Unless the powers that be are honest, the peasant may find the supply cut off, his crops will die, and starvation will be his lot, while the big land owner will thrive. The most real animation I discovered about the new king was at this point. Those familiar with his unsavory past expressed the fear that he would quickly fall into this form of corruption "if he had the power." This water question is more vital to ten million of the fourteen million population than forms

of government, national independence, autonomy, or liberty.

Third, "Will the tourist season be protected?" If you want to touch the real bare nerve of Cairo and Alexandria, just say some pessimistic word about the future of the tourist. They had lean years during the war, and this past winter gave thousands their first good meal since 1914 and some ready money. A large element in the country would accept any kind of government if only assured of a big continuous tourist business. I chanced to have a short conversation with one merchant and introduced the king question. He very quickly said, "I do not care who is king or what kind of a government we have, just so long as they keep from doing some fool thing to drive the tourist away."

The purpose of this article, or that of my visit, is not served by any lengthy comment upon these sight-seeing travelers, but they do have a bearing upon the well-being of the country. I was privileged to see them in their glory—four hundred, five hundred, six hundred, and up to eight hundred in a "party." After traveling long and far I lived to see the high-water mark of this Americanism upon the steps of "Shepherd's." Talking in high-pitched voices, expressing amazement at anything or anybody, just to feel they were getting their money's worth, finding real joy in being duped by Cairo fakirs—they are vital to Egyptian prosperity, and the inhabitants are human enough not to want to see this snap spoiled.

I do not censure the tourists for centering upon this as one place to be visited, even if a lot of others have to be omitted. I know of no place which seems to offer such attractions to so many kind of travelers as do

Cairo and Egypt: If the bent is for biological research, no one spot can compare with it in interest. If the appetite calls for history, here it is to be found, with a sweep from Adam and Eve to the newest monarchy in the world. If the desire is to be confirmed in the essential truth of the Bible record of early history, nothing equals the valley of the Nile. The pick and shovel of the archeologist are putting arbitrary theology in the background as a witness to the truth of the Christian's sacred book. If the artistic is sought and pictures are to be painted, there is the spot. Of eight evenings in Cairo I spent four watching the changing shades and lights of the setting sun upon the magnificent Pyramids and the surrounding hills. If health demands rest and favorable climate, this wonderland can be marked one hundred per cent. If amusement and recreation seem necessary, fifty-seven different varieties are offered. No age, kind, or condition need have a dull hour in Cairo. Therefore, the people who have to struggle for a livelihood are not to be too severely criticized for their anxiety to protect this asset.

As a part of the answer to the utter lack of interest in the king and what the new administration is or may be, the struggle of the vast majority for bread and a decent life must be understood; but all of these considerations must not dim the deeper questions of Egypt's influence for good or bad in the world of politics. There are great possibilities of internal strife there. Just across the Mediterranean Sea, held deported as dangerous, is a pure Egyptian whose blood puts him in direct line for the throne, if one there is to be, who is there waiting to return at any auspicious moment to throw King Fuad out. He is without doubt

more loved by the people than any other prince. He and his followers may upset the whole scheme some day with a suddenness which will not wait for any kind of a conference.

The language most spoken in Cairo and almost entirely in Alexandria is French. The French would love to have Egypt again; in their hearts they believe it belongs to them. Germany, if ever again in reach of wide colonies, would be delighted to get Egypt. She spent millions of marks and thousands of lives in that vain effort in 1916 and 1917. Then the pan-Mohammedan rule can never be satisfied with any half-breed affair in Cairo. Upon the surface now it seems smooth and calm, but beneath are explosives enough to make peace-loving people tremble for the future.

Egypt has, however, strong signs of hope quite beyond many other spots in the world. The natural desires of the people, taken together with influences which are in action there, lead one to believe that, given reasonable time, without upheavals in the rest of the world, they may become a real element in the better conditions so much needed everywhere. Among these may be noted the new Egyptian spirit already referred to, in those of the inhabitants who have unselfish desires for the nation's good. They may be most largely found among the students, who are unqualifiedly of this type, but not alone among them, for they are to be found in many departments of Egyptian life. Too generous praise cannot be given to what is spoken of as the "new party" there, made up of men who have set their hearts and minds in a sincere purpose to redeem the good name of Egypt and establish a nation with all the essential institutions of education, religion, and gov-

ernment necessary to give them a real place in the world of affairs. Despite all the handicaps, they give promise of a better day in the land of Goshen.

The continued relation of the British Government is also a very substantial guarantee that the riots and disorders prophesied by many in the event of a change of authority will not take place to any considerable degree. It is true that King George did send a telegram to King Fuad congratulating him upon his ascendancy to the ancient throne of the Pharaohs, and it is also true that Lord Curzon sent his felicitations to the new member of the world's royalty upon having been granted a kingdom and "full independence," but it is also true that Britain retains "certain relations" to the government as a necessary means of guarding her interest there. It is also true that the Union Jack floats supreme over the entire length of the Suez Canal and no suggestion is made of its being removed. Neither is any change hinted at in the Soudan concerning British "influence." Every man of whom I inquired about the nature of the new régime, and as to how it was expected to operate, seemed to base his conclusions upon something Lord Allenby had told him or was reported to have said to somebody else. From what I could learn I came to the conclusion that, notwithstanding the appointment of King Fuad and a cabinet and the promise of a constitution, His Excellency Lord Allenby is vice king, prime minister, member extraordinary of the cabinet, editor of the constitution, interpreter of the laws and treaties, ambassador of the Court of St. James and major general of all the armies of Egypt. This fact is an omen of an era of order and the establishment of a stable government.

The American influence in Egypt, I am glad to state, is of the highest order for good. Peculiar satisfaction accompanies this statement in remembrance of the fact that this is not always the result of the American contact in the distant parts of the world. The tourists who visit Cairo from the United States are morally and mentally away and above the average of the rabble who rush to the giddy European resorts. I heard frequent comments on the absence of liquor from the tables in the dining rooms where these travelers were guests. I did not see one of them intoxicated. The present diplomatic staff, presided over by Dr. Howell, is of a high moral and intellectual tone. We have furnished enough drunkards there in the past to add to the enthusiasm of appreciation for the present type. No whisky, no gambling, no unsavory social events enter into Dr. Howell's plan.

The representatives of the American mission and their work are of inestimable value to the future of Egypt and the good name of America. The mission is a fitting tribute to the spirit of the sturdy old United Presbyterian Church. Later comment will be made on the whole Christian missionary movement throughout the world as a peace program, but the unique work of this company of Americans in this unique place at this unique time is a matter of such significance that attention is called to it as a substantial feature in Egypt's new birth. The central mission house is in the heart of the city, with its publishing plant and distributing centers at church schools, with Dr. Alexander with over forty years' experience in charge. The college for girls is to the north, with Miss Atchison as principal, and the American college for men in the south with Dr. Mc-

Clenahan as president. These, with over one hundred other teachers, preachers, and missionaries engaged in every possible form of Christian work, are literally penetrating the whole life of Egypt with Christian ideals and hopes. The Young Men's Christian Association, with Mr. Wilbert B. Smith as general secretary, is another wholesome factor in American contributions to Egypt's future. A similar work by the Young Women's Christian Association is strengthening the sum total of American influence in making Egypt a place which may help the world in its search for relief from strife and violence and a land of peace and prosperity.

Mystery may surround the king, his being where he is, how he got there, and how long he will stay where he is, but there is no mystery about the law of cause and effect in the moral world. If the elements in Egypt which are now being pressed for good can be preserved stronger than the older ones of intrigue, immorality, and bribery, then this land of the fathers still has a place in making the world one fit for the sons to dwell in in brotherhood.

CHAPTER X

PALESTINE

*At the High Place in Jerusalem Where Religions
Have Failed*

IT is difficult to express the deep, anxious curiosity which came to me as the time drew near to enter "Palestine," "Jerusalem"—"The Holy Land." After months of wandering, conferring and speaking upon the theme of some plan or philosophy which would bind the world together in a real brotherhood of friendliness and coöperation, and having been everywhere in the presence of rumors of war and evidences of bitterness and jealousies, I anticipated these sacred scenes with peculiar interest. Memory brought back the story of beautiful Bethlehem upon that quiet Christmas night, the star in the heavens, the angels singing "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace good will toward men," the shepherds keeping their flocks in the valleys; then the Mount of Beatitudes, Nazareth, and blue Galilee. Surely, it seemed as though this spot must give hope of the fulfillment of the time when the Golden Rule would be in actual practice. I had been preaching Christ, the "Prince of Peace," to large audiences round the world and had challenged all other doctrines to give proof of having in them the essence of good will to all men. I remembered that the meaning of the

word Jerusalem was "peaceful city," and recalled that here Christ gave as the second greatest commandment, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

With these thoughts we arrived in Jerusalem, the city of world influence in older history, and the one yet to be of vast significance in the weal or woe of the whole human race. I was there upon a specific errand, with definite duties imposed, but I found it impossible to keep aloof from the historic setting or from some impressions, which are general in character, but are involved in the whole story of international affairs. For what Palestine is in character, in people and customs, must be taken into account in the attempt to see it smoothly articulated with the rest of the world. The impressions given are largely the ones which were made by direct contact with scenes and people, and while they may be in error at some points, they are fundamentally true to facts.

In the first place, the visitor is overwhelmed by the apparent religiosity of the place. This is true more or less of all Palestine, but reaches its high point in the capital city. Inside of twenty-four hours I had seen enough long-frosted priests, monks, and ecclesiastics of various kinds to save the whole world in twenty months if they had any real virtue in them. I had seen processions of religionists, heard endless prayers being said, and seen women in one church taking relays in reading Scripture, so there should be no break in the reading from daylight till dark. I had been awakened at four-thirty in the morning by the muezzins on the towers calling the people to early prayer at the mosques. Of these there are three hundred and sixty-six in the city, but in eight days I didn't find one hundred people

in them altogether, although I sought diligently. Upon two occasions I went upon Friday, their special prayer day, but with the same result—there were not over ten people in any one of them.

I have no doubt some of these ecclesiastics are sincere, but for the most part I believe them to be just ordinary lazy fakirs. It is a strange thing how this cult has hung to Jerusalem like leeches for thousands of years. Here they were in Solomon's time, and Jesus found their descendants still pestering the people in His day, and now they confront one at every corner. As the great Temple seemed to be their favorite rendezvous in His day, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre has that distinction now. Jesus rather vigorously drove that crowd out of the Temple, and I solemnly believe He would do the same thing now if He came there and witnessed the gang of pious *bakshish* hunters who infest the place. The words of the Savior, "Beware of the scribes which desire to walk in long robes and love greetings in the markets, and the highest seats in the synagogues and the chief rooms at the feasts; which devour widows' houses, and for a show make long prayers; the same shall receive greater damnation," came to me every hour I walked inside the walls of the old city. The same old type is there now and, one might easily believe, wearing some of the same robes of two thousand years ago.

They are a parody upon the simple, beautiful life He lived and the precepts He taught. The saddest thing about this crowd is the fact that they have captured most of the traditional sacred places, covered them with some kind of a so-called church or mosque, and stand around collecting admission fees from trav-

elers. You are taken down into a dark, dingy basement and pointed to a spot where Christ was born—*bakshish*. If you wish to see the supposed palace of Caiaphas' judgment hall, more *bakshish*. The imaginary spot of the crucifixion is a place to leave another *bakshish*. The pool of Bethesda, the dome of the rock of Solomon's Temple, now a Mohammedan mosque, the tombs of Abraham, Sarah, Leah, Isaac, Rebekah, and Joshua are all under a mosque entered by the route of *bakshish*. This early impression is one of debauched sacred history. It seems a shame that these spots could not have been redeemed and kept with clean, pure surroundings, which would inspire respect for religion rather than make them the by-word joke of the hotel lobbies.

This feeling and statement should not be construed as a criticism of all ecclesiastical dress or of Christian churches in other parts of the world bearing exactly the same name. I have met many of these who are of the noblest in real service to humanity. But for some unaccountable reason the inside Jerusalem type is a reproach upon the very name it bears.

Fortunately, this is not all the story of the Christian manifestation in Palestine or Jerusalem. There are splendid missions, schools, churches, hospitals, Y. M. C. A.'s and Y. W. C. A.'s, but they are not related to the holy places and therefore oftentimes not seen by the tourist. After I had wandered eight days through these distressing scenes I had the privilege of attending divine worship in St. George's Cathedral of the Church of England; it was like balm to tired nerves. The same Sunday afternoon I spoke to a magnificent audience in the Young Men's Christian Association, and later vis-

ited some of the other missions and churches. Finally, we had dinner at the American colony, and an evening of sacred music. This is the group brought out by the famous Spofford to live the pure, simple Christ-life of friendship and service, as a true illustration of what Jesus meant His followers to be. I felt as though a rule ought to be established requiring travelers to include these places in their sight-seeing expeditions, as a kind of corrective to the rest of their experiences.

In the second place, I was impressed with the fact that to follow the dragomans (guides) through their well-learned speeches one needs to leave all ideas of reason and common sense behind. The writer has been rather familiar for twenty-five years with the prepared stories for travelers at most of the places of unique interest throughout the world, but all of them fade into innocent nursery rhymes as compared with Jerusalem. You are shown a hole two feet deep, in a solid granite rock, caused by Mohammed's once jumping up from his prayers and bumping his head at that spot. You are also told that this same rock started to follow Mohammed on his ascension and has ever since remained suspended in mid-air without support, notwithstanding the fact that one end seems to be a solid rock and the other is liberally supported by heavy posts to be seen right before your face.

A cabinet is pointed out where one hair from Mohammed's beard has been preserved and is still growing nearly thirteen hundred years after his death. His footprint in a marble slab is one of the sights. The place is indicated over the valley of Jehosaphat where at the final day of judgment a sharp sword will extend and all of those who can successfully walk across upon

the sharp edge of the sword will be saved, and those who have sinned will fall off and drop down into hell. Six golden nails are shown, in a room dark as a dungeon, sticking in a stone wall eight feet thick, and we are told that as soon as someone pushes one of them clear through the wall the world will come to an end. In the Church of the Holy Sepulchre you are taken to the spot where the crucifixion took place, the table where the body was prepared for burial, the tomb, and the rock upon which the gamblers cast lots for the garments, and all in a space about thirty feet square. At Hebron, you are escorted to the very oak tree under which Abraham pitched his first tent when on his pilgrimage to Egypt.

In Samaria we were taken through dark tunnels and dirty narrow streets down into musty subways, up stone stairways, and finally to a mysterious room where three gorgeously dressed priests appeared, said to be a part of the remnant of the old Samaritan Jews, only twenty-five of whom are now living. With the pomp of the great high priest they brought out a white-robed roll of something which, when uncovered, we were told was the "original Pentateuch written by the brother of Aaron just thirteen years after the death of Moses." A little more *bakshish* and the show was over. These are just a few samples of the fables which have been worked up to impose upon the sentimental traveler as the surest way of securing liberal *bakshish*.

The first day we were in charge of a guide who told these tales with an intensity which suggested that he expected them to be believed. For the rest of the time we had a Christian boy of the American colony, who

did not deprive us of the thrills of the incidents, but introduced them always by the comment, "They say." I would strongly advise visitors to Jerusalem to secure guides of the "they say" variety. It is pitiful to know that here where more people come to be reminded of God, life, duty, and eternity than at any other place on earth, tens of thousands are being thus deluded, while to others these scenes which ought to produce reverence become just a cheap farce.

In the third place, at the end of ten days I thought I knew a little more of why God seemed to love this land and seek to have it for the permanent abiding place of His chosen people. Dr. Henry Van Dyke, in his book, "Out of Doors in the Holy Land," says he had no trouble in finding Palestine, but he did have a hard time finding the Holy Land, and did not really succeed till he got out into the hills and country. The West has a way of describing types of men, one being an "inside man" and another an "outside man." Whatever one's tastes, naturally, one who hopes to find the glory of Palestine must be of the "outside" kind. Our first trip in the country was from Jerusalem to Jericho and the Jordan, over the hills of Judea by that famous robber road and the inn which marks the supposed spot where the Good Samaritan took the wounded man, through the valley of the brook Cherith where Elijah was fed by the ravens, on to ancient Jericho and to the fountain where Elisha purified the waters. We breakfasted there by the side of the stream, then went on under the sycamore trees to the little Jordan, where John baptized Jesus; from there to the Dead Sea, and amid the Arabs, the camels, and the donkeys back past the Mount of Temptation with a stop at Bethany to pick the "lilies of

the field," and then to Jerusalem. Again, the same afternoon, we made a trip to the Mount of Olives and by some strange coincidence there was an eclipse of the sun while there which gave the distant Jerusalem a glory of golden tint never to be forgotten. We walked down the steep, rocky hillside, where Jesus led His disciples so many times, and watched the sunset from the Garden of Gethsemane, which is just an open plot filed with lovely flowers and shrubs and a cool spring of water. A thousand memories were revived, and the beauty of that scene had made all the inside incidents seem insignificant.

Again, we motored north on the road via Sychar to Galilee. Yonder was the hill where Samuel judged, and just across the valley were the ruins of the boyhood home of Saul and the valley where he grew jealous of David. We stopped at Jacob's well, near Sychar, where Jesus told the poor wicked woman of the spring of living water, and made another stop in ancient Shechem. Then we broke the trip to see Nazareth, where Mary and Joseph lived just like folks and Jesus was a regular boy and a good carpenter. Over there was Mount Tabor and the other way the Mount of Beatitudes. Then we went on through Cana, up the steep of a high mountain, where away to the north snow-capped Mount Hermon could be seen, and then on to the beautiful Sea of Galilee. It cannot be described. It must be seen. All the way were peasants with donkeys and camel trains not different from those times of two and three thousand years ago. We went by boat from Tiberias to old Capernaum. Unconsciously some in our party kept humming that beautiful hymn:

Oh, Galilee, sweet Galilee,
Where Jesus loved so much to be;
Oh, Galilee, blue Galilee,
Come, sing thy song again to me.

But at one place we were surprised and delighted to have our four Galilean boatmen stop rowing and join in exquisite harmony in singing nearly the entire song. Then we visited Bethsaida, where Jesus met James, John, Andrew, and Philip. Small wonder the Savior loved this sea, with its almost matchless scenery, and hurried back to it so often. It is a source of satisfaction to know that nobody can build a mosque or so-styled church over it to hide its glory. A lady in Jerusalem said, "The Peace has not left Galilee, but I can almost hear the crowd inside the walls of Jerusalem shouting 'Crucify Him, Crucify Him!' now as I walk through those narrow streets."

Once more we went over the hills where David kept those few sheep, to the south, to old Hebron that Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, and David loved so much; through the vineyards where Caleb and Joshua found the big grapes, past the field where Ruth gleaned and won Boaz, and on to Bethlehem, where Joseph and Mary found only a stable open for them and a manger cradle for the Savior of the world. Another time we went west, where Samson won and lost his glory, over the hills, down in the valleys, past the shepherds by thousands still keeping their flocks, through the Bedouin camps, whose people still wander here and there as some whim moves them, but who have no permanent abiding place.

It is a glorious country, and ought to be redeemed

to speak yet more of God's triumph in the gift of the Christian Gospel. Its scenery, its sacred history, its rich soil, its vast grazing hills, and its location, all testify not only to its permanent importance in past history but to its place of power for good or bad in the story of life that is yet to be written.

In the fourth place, *there are found in Palestine elements of severe jealousy, bitterness, and restrained violence which may some day imperil the peace of the whole world.* Palestine as a unit will probably not declare war on anybody, at least not for many, many years. She has no power within herself to do that. But here are found some of the most delicate points of friction, of the kind for which men will fight more desperately than for economic advantage or geographical expansion. Were the rest of the world less disturbed these would not be so dangerous, but the sensitive nerves of Palestine reach very wide areas, and unless great care is exercised and a superior grade of wisdom brought to bear upon her affairs, here may be found the provocation for an outbreak which will know no bounds. Small Serbia was such a spot in 1914. I am persuaded that no place, in my knowledge, of ten times the population furnishes anything like such possibilities as may be discovered in Palestine, when one begins to dig a little beneath the surface of the well-worn tourist routes.

Here, as in few places, the problem of the effect of the Western ideas, types, and methods is a source of irritation, and what the result is to be is yet to be revealed. The Far East is made up of nations with some form of protection for their traditions, but Palestine has nothing, and the West is running riot here with a

free hand. High-powered automobiles go racing over the Jericho road, through Bethlehem to Hebron, and past Jacob's well into Nazareth, whizzing to the edge of the Lake of Galilee, while the long, slow camel trains are pushed aside, the Arab looks on bewildered and the poor little, heavy-laden donkey seems anchored to his spot.

Filled with a great sense of sacredness and reverence, I started to climb the hill at Nazareth to visit the boyhood home of Jesus. Inside of ten minutes I had seen in open shop doors a dozen Singer sewing machines being operated, some of them making the famous "Nazareth hand-made lace" the ladies rave about. I stood a long time in front of the Virgin's fountain trying to get a snapshot of the spring before I was successful—not because the water carriers were not coming and going, but because most of them had tin cans instead of jars. These cans, formerly used to bring in Standard Oil, are a pest to the eye, and have about wrecked the pottery industry.

Then, forcing the English language everywhere is putting the peasant native clear out of touch with what is going on around him. The most disgusting thing has been the introduction of the public bar where liquors are freely sold to anybody and everybody except "N. C. O.'s and men of the British army." I was told repeatedly that this curse was not known a few years ago.

These are only a few illustrations out of many which might be noted and which raise the whole question of what the total effect of the West upon the East will be. If a cry of discontent should go out and a call for help in defense should be sent across the lands of the Arab

and the Bedouin over Mesopotamia to India and China and Japan, it might arouse the whole East against the West.

Worse than this, however, is the conflict of religions which is so intense, around Jerusalem in particular, that even the most casual visitor comments upon its peril inside of twenty-four hours after arrival. It is to be remembered that here the three world religions have their most sacred high places: Christianity, Judaism, and Islam, for the Mohammedans are now making about as much of Jerusalem as they do of the famous Mecca. The tension is fierce, for after some fashion they each believe that dominating Jerusalem and Palestine is essential to world power, and of those active there now every one is thirsting for world political dominion by the route of religion. The people who sincerely hope for a free religious faith based upon liberty ought not to be deceived upon this point. This is the Jerusalem struggle right now.

First in severity of hatred probably come the Mohammedans, who are suffering under the sting of the humiliation which came when in 1916 Lord Allenby marched in through the Jaffa Gate. For the present moment they seem to be centering their attack upon the Jews, but that is probably only because they fear the Jews most, not because they would be more friendly towards the Christians. They believe that God meant this to be Mohammed's country, and that it is the link to connect them with the Sultan in Turkey and the 70,000,000 of their kind in India. The Crusaders had no deeper fire burning in their bosoms than the desire of Mohammedans to exterminate the Jew.

Then comes the Jew, fired by the prophecies ex-

pressed in England in 1918 that at last the Hebrew people were again to be gathered to Palestine and be a nation among the other powers. They look upon these Mohammedans and Christians as trespassers and usurpers and fit only to be driven out as cattle. Whatever may have been the sincerity of the early Zionist movement so far as Palestine is concerned, it seems to have fallen into the hands of those who have lost, if indeed they ever had, any religious purpose in coming back to the soil of their fathers. The weight of the evidence I heard would indicate that during the riots of two years earlier they slaughtered Arabs in the street as the Turks have been slaughtering the Armenians.

Then come the Christians. To be perfectly honest and not to be misleading, I venture to suggest that the Protestant Christians are not included in this statement. Neither do I wish to infer that all the communions involved in this complication are of the same stamp, or would countenance what occurs inside many of these sacred spots. I am only trying to give an actual picture of what a debasing demonstration is being given, particularly inside the walls of old Jerusalem, by the self-styled Christians.

Among these Christians there remains the old animosity and fear of the Moslem. At the close range of church and mosque standing side by side in scores of cases, one may imagine what the pressure is at times; but also the fact that practically all of the great show mosques were formerly either Latin or Greek Catholic churches gives cause for friction. The Mosque of Omar, upon the site of Solomon's Temple, was built as a Roman Catholic church, and is a daily exasperating memory to the Christians now. But this is mild, con-

trasted with their zeal to abolish the Jew from the face of the earth. If he is recognized, he cannot put his foot inside a church or mosque. At the great Mosque of Hebron, which covers the tomb of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, under great pressure the Mohammedans have *permitted* the Jews, one day a week, to come up seven steps out of about fifty in the street leading up to the entrance. So far as these general divisions are concerned, the only sign of any common interest discovered is that it would seem as though these Christians and the Mohammedans might temporarily unite, if they thought by so doing they could drive all the Jews into the Mediterranean or Dead Sea.

But this is not the saddest part of this silent religious warfare which is going on amid these hallowed scenes. The hatred between the Latin Catholic, the Greek Orthodox, and the Armenian sects is about as bitter as between the Jews and the Moslems. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre is held jointly by all three, and soldiers are on guard to keep them from fighting. The same is true of the Church of the Nativity, which marks the place of the birth of Christ at Bethlehem. When I got down to the supposed place in the stable where the Savior was born, and within a few feet of the place where the manger was in which the baby was cradled, I noticed a big, well-armed Mohammedan soldier standing between the two spots, and when I asked the guide why this guard was needed in such a holy place he replied, "They have to keep him here to prevent the Latins, the Greeks, and the Armenians from fighting when they come down here." A beautiful golden star is nailed in the rock which is supposed to mark the place of birth. In some strange

manner one of the nails was taken. If the truth were known, it was probably stolen by some crazy American tourist. They would carry the Jordan away if it were loose. However, the warring sects did finally agree on the selection of a nail to replace the missing one, but could not agree upon who should drive it back in place. After a long controversy they finally permitted the Turkish Government to have it done by a "Gypsy," who was supposed to have no religion and therefore to be a neutral.

Repeatedly I heard people say, "We shall be glad when Easter is over and gone." To one taught to love Easter morning, with its songs of resurrection hopes, its flowers and music, this seemed sacrilegious. But it was understood when we were told that this is the usual day of riot, when these sects fight for preëminence in the streets. I met a British officer on the road with a big army truck, who confidentially told one of our party that he had just taken a load of the most radical of one of the sects out to a detention camp where they were to be kept over Easter as a protection against riots.

I read a column article in a daily newspaper in Cairo commending the British Government for its great wisdom in preparing against outbreaks in Jerusalem during the feast of the Passover and Easter. A graphic description was given of the military precautions. An armored truck had been stationed at the Jaffa Gate, soldiers were to be kept night and day patrolling upon the walls, and the inside guard was to be doubled. What a travesty upon the day of days in the year when all men ought to think kindly of each other, to say nothing of the followers of Him whose resurrection from the grave was to be celebrated!

Jesus stood on the Mount of Olives and wept two thousand years ago: surely He must weep now to witness that kind of life among those who profess to be His followers. History records the terror of religious wars, and unless all signs fail there are possibilities of an explosion among these warring factions which would spread to many parts of the world where the same animosities exist upon a smaller scale. No thoughtful, well-informed man can doubt what is in the heart of the Moslems. I met and talked personally with a splendid young American missionary and his wife who had just been driven out of their field, twenty-five miles east of the Jordan, at the hands of the Moslems, and their schools and missions broken up because these folks will not tolerate interference at any point where they hold sway. Many of its adherents are doubtless devout, sincere, God-fearing men, but fundamentally that faith is set for political dominion and would act promptly and violently at any moment of provocation and hope of success. Turkey, Persia, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Arabia, and India could quickly become involved. This quarrel among the Palestinian Christians is to them a good omen and they are doing all in their power to encourage it as a part of the utter collapse of their competitors in this part of the world. Palestine furnishes just the right kind of a religious foment to be the genesis of such an outbreak.

Summing it all up, Palestine seems to be living under an armed truce. Never in any country in the same length of time in what was supposed to be a time of peace have I ever seen so many men carrying rifles. Nearly all of the Arabs one meets, riding their wonderful horses, have guns swung over their backs. Every

Bedouin camp has shooting weapons in good view. Many of the police go around, not with the usual club, but rather a regulation army carbine. There is a sort of an undercurrent which suggests that trouble is ahead.

Quietly, however, behind all the scenes is the British Government, with men of high character at the helm. I met the second most influential man in the official family, Sir Wyndham Deedes, and felt a sense of hope for the future in just the presence of such a man at such an hour in the history of Palestine. Hearing from many of the changes wrought in Jerusalem since the British mandate, I was to a degree reconciled to that part of the war which was necessary to give religious and political liberty to the people of these sacred hills.

In the fifth place, I was impressed by the utter failure of the religions of Jerusalem to produce peace, brotherhood, or good will. Later reference will be made to what the men of many walks of life and types of people are saying about the need of a great spiritual, moral, religious awakening as the only sure guarantee of ending war. It has become so common to hear this that its repetition is almost a platitude. But it must be acknowledged that the Jerusalem religions have not produced this result and give no promise that upon their present basis they ever will do so. I wandered through the zones of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Hinduism and never felt led to say they were utter failures in doing something for the brotherhood of man. But of this conglomeration in Jerusalem there is no hesitancy in saying they have failed utterly and absolutely to add one impulse to this great human need of friendship and brotherly love. They have done worse—they

have been breeders of hate and advance agents of possible wars.

I hope I am wrong, but as the train pulled away and I saw that beautiful city on the mountain, with its domes, towers, and minarets, fade away I felt as though, from the standpoint of peace on earth and brotherhood, Jerusalem and Palestine would be better off by far if the whole lot of them were cleared out, bag and baggage. Singing, chanting, praying, bowing down, wearing long mysterious robes, and making signs inside police-guarded walls is a big sham, while the people outside are sick, blind, dirty, ignorant, and hating each other to death. I refuse to believe this is what Jesus came to leave as the faith to be called by His name. For the first time in my life I was forced to believe that, at least in this spot, *false religion is worse than no religion.*

The leaders of the World Alliance of Churches for International Friendship and other peace societies have been sending a good many petitions and addresses to parliaments and public officials, and that is all well enough, but greater is the imperative necessity of cultivating a Christian clientele in the world which will truly exemplify the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians, the fourth chapter of First John and the "Great Commandment."

CHAPTER XI

CONSTANTINOPLE

The Danger Zone of a Religious World War

THE zone of Constantinople had to be reached, really to find the answer to a series of perplexing questions with which I had found myself confronted for a good many weeks. I had been feeling a new set of irritating vibrations which were different from those in Japan, China, and South India. The earlier causes of unrest and dissatisfaction met in the Orient were at least understandable. They could be reduced to language. They could be partially found out by asking direct questions and getting direct answers. But the new set, first met in North India, seemed shrouded in great mystery. They were not to be talked of in the open. They belonged exclusively to the special order of inside confidential agents. Only once was I able to get a comment which seemed to be at all frank upon this subject. While in North India where this new impulse first began to be felt, one Britisher whose office would seem to suggest knowledge, said to me—when the famous telegram went out of Delhi from the Government of India to the Government of London, demanding that Constantinople and the Turkish Government be put upon a sort of “As you were” basis, or practically a pre-war platform—

"The Moslem religion is at the bottom of that." With this one exception, while many there seemed anxious, and all felt that strange new influences were beginning to work, nobody had a strong idea of what was underneath, or if they had, they very much preferred to keep silent.

When I got to Egypt, there remained no doubt but that the recent events there had some peculiar relation to the North India affair, and yet the men I met mostly talked away from the suggestion that there might be a far-off genesis of causes, quite different from the ones reported in the local papers. In other words, the residents in and around Cairo either did not wish to believe that there was collusion in these events between India and Egypt, or felt it more prudent not to discuss the situation. But to the traveler, the vibrations sounded exceedingly similar.

Jerusalem was another step nearer, more pronounced in evidence, that the Britisher's blunt remark in India was probably the statement of actual fact. But the element of doubt was fairly well removed by a part of a day in ancient Athens in a conference with the leaders of the World Alliance of Churches for International Friendship in Greece. I was taken from the ship and quickly driven a considerable distance to an orphanage, where, by the way, a brass band of about forty boys struck up "The Star Spangled Banner" as I entered the building. After months of long absences from home, and more or less wearied by travel and attempts to find sufficient ground upon which to base hope of permanent friendship among nations, that music sounded more magnificent to me than anything I ever heard in grand opera, or rendered by Sousa or the

United States Marine Band. If I had not been in the presence of Greek art, literature, and philosophy, I would have exclaimed, "Ain't it a grand and glorious feeling?" The memories stirred by that music on that day in that place were a good tonic for the experience to follow. Greece was at war with the Turk and I was again in a land where the soldiers were being called up, and the government centering all its powers to prosecute military movements; taxes were being levied to the limit, and a forced loan had just been put through, by which all the currency had been cut in two and one half held as bonds for war measures.

In a conference with men, said to be as well informed as any in the nation, their statement of the fundamental issue seemed to confirm the earlier suspicions that Mohammedanism was bestirring itself again for territorial advance. These men said it was a war with the Turk, pure and simple, for control of the Dardanelles, the Bosphorus, and Constantinople as a base, and then on to the rest of the contested territory. Nothing could seem sadder than this situation here, amid the glorious scenes of ancient Greece, which might even now be the center of the world's learning and supreme culture, had not wars wrecked it generation after generation. Only a little way and there were Thermopylæ and Marathon. Yonder was the hill where Xerxes sat in his golden chair and watched his fleet fight to death for the Ægean Sea. Alexander the Great had fought as no other had ever done to make this spot perpetually great. I climbed the Acropolis and stood amid the ruins of the Parthenon and looked down over Mars hill where St. Paul preached the Christian Gospel as an answer to the hope which built the altar to "an Un-

known God." The wisdom of Socrates, the oratory of Demosthenes, the theology of Paul, and the soldiers of Alexander, all combined, had not freed Greece from war or kept her great. Again she was passing through the agony of armed struggle, this time with the desperate Turk.

I got one step nearer yet, however, by a day's stop in Smyrna. Here was the seat of one of the worthy churches of John's vision. Yet we were met at every look by soldiers, soldiers, and a harbor full of war-ships—not Greek only, but of many nations, ready to take their various subjects "to places of safety if anything happened," so one officer told me. I asked another man who seemed to be in a position to know the facts, what this war really was about, and without hesitancy he said, "Several minor questions, but one real one: it is the Turks fighting to rid the country of Christians." As the children say when playing hide and seek, "I knew I was getting 'hotter.' " These vibrations which were felt first in North India and then more forcibly as I journeyed through the Arabian Sea, the Suez Canal, in Egypt and Palestine, were becoming intelligible as I got into actual Greek territory at the capital, Athens, and in Smyrna.

But all disguise was eliminated when we sailed through the Dardanelles, of such sad memory to the British in 1916, and on to Constantinople. Open, free shop talk explained what the unadulterated issue was, involving everything from Adrianople in the Balkans to India. Constantinople is the radiating pivot from which the rumblings are being sent out, and there is no reluctance upon the part of public men to say it is a demand for a pan-Moslem control from the Danube to

the Ganges. This is the area over which the Mohammedans are a very considerable part of the entire population and in most of it a decided majority. Just now, in open speeches and newspaper articles, they are demanding the territory from Adrianople to the Arabian Sea, but not one informed man believed they would be content with that area for five years, even if it were granted to them.

Constantinople has been the center of envy, strife, and war between different factions, races, and nations for over two thousand years, and while some governments have survived for hundreds of years, none of them have known a period of ten years without having to resist enemies. It has been one of the world centers of continuous struggle. Constantine undoubtedly thought when he rebuilt and enlarged the city, and surrounded it with impressive walls, only second to the Great Wall of China, that he had erected a perpetual defense, in remembrance of which his son built the beautiful St. Sophia as a Christian cathedral. But the Turks battered down the walls, sacked the city and transformed St. Sophia and all the rest of the ancient churches into mosques. Nobody seemed to know how many mosques there are in the city, probably three or four hundred.

To-day the Allied High Commissioners representing Great Britain, France, and Italy are supposed to be in control, but the impression is general that they all have their ears to the ground to know what the Turk wants and to be sure not to give him offense. One high American official said to me, "One thing is sure, the Turkish Government is coming back to Constantinople and the best thing we can do is to accept the situation

without protest." I do not profess to have wisdom enough to state arbitrarily what this event means, but I do feel certain of some facts upon which all the people I met are agreed. They are submitted not as personal conclusions, but as the mind of practically all those with whom I came in contact. Leaving final judgment of the merits of the questions involved to later knowledge, to be gained as actual experience reveals all the hidden complications, the present movements for peace and harmony must take account of the following facts. The writer will be glad beyond expression if the passing years prove that these witnesses were mistaken, and that unseen influences are at work which will produce results better than those which seem now to be inevitable. The conclusions presented are based upon the theory that, if they are correct, it is far wiser to state them now for whatever value they may have, rather than to keep silent now and later wish they had been recorded.

Fact Number 1: All are agreed that the Turk is in the midst of a tremendous reassertion of his power and prestige. Whether he is warranted or not in his conclusions, he believes his hour of opportunity has come. In January, 1919, the Turk was on his knees, begging for a crumb from the table of the Allies. He was bankrupt, and without an army worth counting, and had no friends. He was ready then to accept any terms. The Allies were generous and gave the government some small territory and a chance to keep a semblance of national unity. But mandates granted to four leading powers and the International Allied Commission at Constantinople did not seem to leave much to be proud of or upon which to base any expect-

tations for the future. All the world looked on and felt that at last the end of a terrible story had come and that the Turk's power was permanently broken and the menace removed. Once before in 1912, this same hope had been cherished, only to be shattered when the Balkan States after a great victory fell to quarreling among themselves and the Turks, although circumscribed, remained a menace to the peace of Europe.

But the evolution of the after-adjustments of a great war seems again to be making strange new alliances, and none so mysterious as the change of front by several of the Allies towards the Ottoman power. The American Government refused a mandate over any of this territory, France made a gesture as though she would accept responsibility, but no sooner did she do so than her armies began to withdraw and have practically evacuated the whole of what she promised to protect and administer. Some are uncharitable enough to say the French are withdrawing to protect large loans they have made to the Angora Government. Others are saying it is to get all the army ready for the march to Berlin. Whatever the facts, they have turned most of the territory back to the Mohammedans. Italy never did anything serious about it.

Now Britain is exceedingly courteous to the Turk. This changed British attitude was hinted at by Field Marshal Sir Henry Wilson M.P. in his interview reported in the Paris edition of the *Daily Mail*, May 3, 1922. In commenting upon Mr. Lloyd George's blunder in advising the Greeks to go into Smyrna, he said, "We shall never get peace in Palestine or Mesopotamia or Egypt or India until we make love to the Turks. It may be very immoral, but it is a fact."

Greece has failed to hold what she had twelve months ago, and is being advised by the Allies to withdraw from Smyrna. The result is that the Turks think everybody is afraid of them.

Demands now being made, similar to those pathetic *requests* of 1919 which were promptly refused, are being considered, modified a little, and granted. It is not strange, in view of this situation, that these Moslems have their heads up high, their hopes renewed, and are full of confidence that they will soon be in full possession of all their 1914 territory. Whether they are justified in this assumption is a question no one I met could satisfactorily answer. But with Britain, France, Italy, and the United States all salaaming and bowing to them, that they are reasserting their old attitude as dictators, no one entertained any doubt. Constantinople talk was filled with this impression. The Turk has changed in a few months from being a poor, beaten, suppliant asking for mercy, to a domineering, arrogant, confident egotist, naming terms to everybody in sight. This significant new attitude is enough to make all those familiar with Turkish history wonder what the future of that part of the world is to be.

Fact Number 2: Every man, woman, and child I talked to, of those who are familiar with anything in the past, said without hesitation that the stories of the atrocities, the massacres, and the terrific persecutions of the Christians by the Turks were true.

I came into this zone determined to know for myself to what degree these accounts were to be discounted. I remembered that the early winter of 1918 had proved that the stories of German atrocities at the beginning of the war had been very highly colored and

exaggerated, and I felt that the same might be true of the incidents so commonly reported of the treatment of the Armenians by the Moslems. I was amazed at the unanimity with which absolutely all of those I met said those statements were correct. The Turks did massacre whole villages. They did take as captive slaves young women and girls. They did drive them by thousands into the desert to die. They did carry on a determined plan to eliminate the Christians from their territory. They have almost succeeded in exterminating the Armenian nation. Of five millions who were in that part of the Turkish Empire in 1910, only a million of a scattered remnant remain in Anatolia, and the promised independent Armenian nation is a wreck, overrun by Bolsheviki on one side and Turks on the other. Some have fled to Europe, some to America, and some to other parts of the world. But the fact of the method is verified by everybody with whom I came in contact. These actual incidents must be known to such governments as the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy and Germany, and will form the basis of the most fearful indictment of these so-called Christian powers, when in later years the historians appraise the true values of the twentieth century. For myself I was astounded at the calm answer I got everywhere. "Oh yes, those reports are true." My inquiries were not confined to missionaries and Christian workers, but included some business men, several officials of three different nations, and some educationalists who were making investigations for historical purposes.

I was able to get only two comments which would even modify the viciousness of the crime committed.

One was the suggestion that there had been other atrocities committed in the world. Even the one or two who advanced this argument agreed that the others did not approach these either in the methods used, the lives involved, or the term of years during which this plan of organized murder had been carried on.

A second theory was given by an American official, and was spoken of as calmly as though he was reporting the topic of a recent prayermeeting. He said: "Yes, the stories of the massacres are true; they did occur, but you must remember that these Turks do not have the same ideas upon this question as we hold. They have been trained to this method and do not hesitate to kill; it is not a serious offense in their eyes." I do not know that his soothing, extenuating idea would be much of a consolation to the bones of the skeletons in the desert, to the tattooed slave girls of the harems, to the remnants of families separated and driven apart forever, or to the remaining half dead waiting for the end, but he sat in his easy chair and offered it as a very satisfying argument to himself.

I followed this same trail of blood through Bulgaria, where people's memory is vivid of this policy when they were under Turkish power. The same sad wounds remain in Serbia and Hungary. All the way to the gates of Vienna the footprints of the Turk are marked by ruthless slaughter of men, women, and children who dared to worship Christ.

Whatever may be the secret purposes or whatever may be the future, the record of the Turk as the supreme murderer of the last fifteen hundred years stands undisputed by the best witnesses in the area of Constantinople. With this background of history and the

new revival of Turkish hopes for political power, there is abundant reason for great anxiety as to what life for the Christians is yet to be in the Near East.

Fact Number 3: Practically all agreed that there is no sufficient evidence that the reinstated Turk will be any different than the Turk of twenty-five or fifty or five hundred years ago. Sad as the older story is, and in the face of a nearly unanimous opinion that this reinstatement is inevitable, I felt it most important to know whether the future would be better than the past. This question was urged upon every type and kind of a man or woman with whom I could get an interview. These included American and British officials, college presidents and professors, highest ecclesiastical authorities of Greek Orthodox, Armenian, and Protestant churches, editors of papers and periodicals, secular and religious, commercial men, welfare and relief workers, missionaries and public officials of the Turkish Government. One or two evaded the question. One American said he thought the new régime might be better, but was not sure. All the rest with deep feeling said they saw no reason to expect anything different in the future from what had happened in the past. No evidence could be found that there was any change in heart or mind among the ruling Moslems. The name of Moustafa Kemal, who is the real brains of the revived government, is as much dreaded as that of any Sultan or ruler of the past. Some suggested that the procedure might be a little more politic than the older one, but that the purpose would be the same. "Deporting for military purposes" seems to be the more elegant recent method rather than direct killing. Some felt very clearly that the new order would

be worse than the old. One great church leader in making this statement said: "In the old days, the Turks were a little afraid of what the United States or Great Britain might do; now they are not afraid of anybody and will rule with terror." Some officers of Christian movements and institutions which had survived the old persecutions and the war period, thought it highly probable that they would have to withdraw if the Turkish rule came back animated by its present spirit of power.

Those who see no prospect for anything better in the future base their views largely upon happenings in the territories where the Turks have been reinstated. The missionaries have all practically been driven to the sea-coast ports, where foreign elements are still in control. A few remain in the interior, but nine out of ten have been forced to flee. The refugees were arriving while I was in Constantinople from Syria, Cilicia, Aleppo, and Smyrna with fearful tales of suffering and persecution. The highest authority of the Greek Orthodox Church told me he was sure 800,000 Greeks in Smyrna would die, if the Allies compelled the withdrawal of the Greek army there. He said: "It is not a choice of life or death with them; it is only a choice of what kind of death they prefer. To remain will mean death by the hand of the Turk in some form; to try to get away means death by starvation as they go." The politicians may sit by and view the come-back of the old Ottoman political power with complacency, but those Christians who must either live under that régime or get away view it with sickening alarm. With the Turk filled with delight that he is again a force in the political world, and with an apparent certainty that

his government is to be again established as before the war, and with the evidence seeming to indicate that the new order will be no better than the old, peace advocates cannot but look upon Constantinople as a center from which disturbing elements may become so pronounced as to upset the whole Near and Far East at least.

I have a copy of a long editorial written by Aka Kountouz one of the high tempered Nationalists and which appeared in the Kemalist newspaper of Angora, the *Peyam Sabah*, under date of January 13, 1922. The whole article is a terrific attack upon the Government of Great Britain and a call for all Moslems to "hate the British." The following quotation is a picture of what this radical group, who are closest to Moustafa Kemal think the function of government is:

"And thou, the Army of the Creator and Just! Every time you massacre a Greek you are pulling down one of the corner-stones of the British Empire. Therefore, for God's sake massacre, for the love of your country massacre, in revenge of your dead brethren massacre, in the name of crying humanity massacre, for the salvation of the world massacre!"

Remembering fully that this is an extreme view, and represents the most radical wing among the Moslems, and is not shared by thousands of their people, the fact that it was written and printed and does express the sentiment of the controlling political régime, does not leave much room to base any expectations that the future performances of the Turk, when in control, will be changed from those in the past.

Fact Number 4: Everybody was agreed that the only possible hope of saving the people there from

more persecutions at the hands of the Turks, and helpless women and children from death by starvation or worse, would be the intervention in some form by the American Government. Later more complete reference will be made to this worldwide expectancy concerning the place the United States has in preserving harmony and order among the nations. But these Near East problems brought this topic so intensely to my attention that justice would not be done without special reference to this in connection with the part the Turkish Government is to have in the future of the world. "America can settle this whole disturbance any hour she will announce her willingness to assume the responsibility," was the fervent statement of an educator who had lived in Constantinople for sixteen years.

I was so ashamed of the fact that a few ossified isolationists of my own nation had dragooned the whole political machinery into cowardly dodging its clear duty to other parts of the world that I did not seek to have this question discussed. It was pressed upon me at every interview held with men and women with humanitarian instincts.

This statement made by the educationalists was repeated to me in substance by a hundred people. With others it came in the form of a pitiful appeal, a prayer that even yet America might come to the rescue. These voices, representing many nations but especially Americans, British, and Greeks, all united in saying that the saddest hour in the history of this part of the universe, for the past hundred years at least, was when America refused to accept a mandate for Armenia. One traveler, not an American and with no relation to politics or armies, reported to me the glee of the Turks in one

of the interior cities when the message was received that America had refused to accept the care of the Armenian territory. He said it was a regular Fourth of July celebration. He also said that from that day on, as he traveled through that country, he saw the change in their attitude from one of quiet submission to one of belligerence. The people believe that our presence there would have saved not only Armenia but the rest of the disputed territory, which now seems destined to be swept back into the hands of the Turks. If these people are correct in this impression, nor more solemn question of duty has come to the United States since 1860. No frantic speeches about "entangling alliances" or excuses about "cost of expeditions" will clear us in the judgment of time if our participation there is necessary for peace and the protection of human life. If these people are correct, and the return of the Turk means more persecutions, then the peace of the world is sure to be upset and armed force will be required. For no conference voice will have any effect with the Turk in his present frame of mind and an aroused world will surely not sit by and see helpless people suffer indefinitely again. And if the guns once start shooting in the Marmora and the Dardanelles, America will hardly find the isolation argument sufficient to protect her human and temporal possessions there.

In justice to all the facts, what is called the "new party" in Constantinople must be mentioned. It is said they have a sincere desire to see a new and purified Turkish Government take the place of the old order. I was privileged to meet for an hour with three of the most conspicuous of these men. For their sake and what they represent, I wish I had been able to find

a real foundation for their hope. But it was not possible, even upon their own statements, for one of them with sadness in his voice said, "Oh, we are in an ocean of sin which does not change." They themselves did not prophesy anything very different from the traditional older order. In a milder form they concurred in the first three facts stated. Nevertheless, they do without doubt represent the hope at least that the Turkish Government may some day be reformed. Gladly, to give every possible encouragement to that element, I quote the following which appeared in many Constantinople Turkish papers upon April 13, 1922. It is a brief quotation from a message sent out by the Moslem Academy in anticipation of the holy month of Ramadan:

"Oh, Brethren of our Religion! Come, let us repent and ask forgiveness. In these holy nights let us abstain from liquor and immorality, and let us pray for the salvation and happiness of our nation and country. Let us ask that the blood which has been shed, the calamity of the families which have been ruined, the sufferings of people who were rich but have become poor and emigrant, the tears which have run from the eyes of the innocent children should not go in vain. Let us love one another. Let us never do enmity to any person. Let us try to reform ourselves with a strong purpose, let us try to be helpful to everybody and especially to one another among ourselves. Let the bad spirit of disunion and condemnation be away from us, and the good will of God and the Prophet, power and peace shall be with us."

This represents the minority party and is in splendid contrast to the earlier quotation, the plea of the Angora

Kemalist extremists for the rule of the Turk by the sword.

I do not profess to have firsthand evidence enough to make these facts I have stated indicate my own personal conclusions. I would be glad to believe they are in error, but they are an honest summary of what I had from the lips of a host of competent witnesses, who were more unanimous than I ever knew so many people to be upon any question which might have two sides to it. Constantinople, with its related issues which reach as far as India, has political and religious dynamite enough under it to blow up the peace of the entire human race if somebody drops a match into the magazine some black night.

Here, as in many other places, the silent, pervading influence of the Christian movement is apparent, as an earnest hope of continual peace and a solution of all the complicated problems without resort to arms. But here it seemed as though that factor were more pronounced than ever. The very language of the Christian movement and the atmosphere it creates are in striking contrast to the kind encountered in economic and diplomatic circles. The former sees the ideals of brotherhood and friendship yet possible, notwithstanding all the obstacles of the Mohammedan and Christian, East and West hatreds. The latter group, peculiarly in this zone, has taken a cold fatalist philosophy—"an eye for an eye," a fight to the finish, the strong to live and the weak to die. Robert College for the men and Constantinople College for the women, as typical of the entire vast Christian movement there, are worth more every twenty-four hours for the preservation of peace in that part of the Near East than their total cost in

all their history. As I moved through that scene and heard the threats being made, the prophecies of outbreak, and listened to the tales of dread of more massacres, I was led many times to wonder just what would be going on if there were no restraining influences of the Christian institutions—teachers, preachers, Young Men's Christian Association secretaries, Young Women's Christian Association secretaries, relief workers, and all kinds of missionaries. It would be a scene of indescribable conflict within thirty days. If the present crisis is passed and order preserved without military intervention, the rest of the world may offer gratitude to those Christians rather than to the political diplomats.

CHAPTER XII

CONTINENTAL EUROPE

In Acute Nervous Prostration

"Europe, the Mother Continent, has not yet run her race or finished her achievement. Scarred and suffering, destitute, pauperized, and humiliated, she keeps both her pride and her ideals, and deep in her heart, too deep as yet for utterance in a language that others can understand, she bears the promise of a future which will cause men to reverence her, even in her adversity, not merely as the source and origin of civilization, but as its pioneer."—Alfred E. Zimmern, "Europe in Convalescence."

AT the close of the two most intense months of a lifetime, spent in travel through continental Europe, meeting the most vital people of nine nations, including visits to each of their capitals with but one exception, listening to prepared statements from most of them bearing upon their grievances, their sorrows, their hopes, and their despairs, I find myself almost devoid of any language to describe at all accurately this situation. It is full of seemingly impossible contradictions. People in whom one may place implicit confidence as to their veracity and sincerity were making statements, with assurance of their truth, which were so far apart as to fact that they left no apparent room to hope for reconciling them upon the theory of misinformation or misunderstanding. One morning a committee submitted typewritten data, on the happenings in a certain portion of the disputed geography of Europe.

These facts seemed indisputable, the gentlemen who presented them were entirely trustworthy. But the next day there was obtained from an equally reliable source another fund of information, which denied every statement previously received, and presented a set of accusations charging the first party with every offense which the first party had pleaded against the second. I believed in the honesty of this second group then, I believe the same thing of them now. I was convinced that some explanation other than a hasty charge of falsehood was necessary if justice was to be granted.

Incidents of this type, however, were constantly met at intervals of about four days each. But for knowledge of the character of the people and personal acquaintance with many of them, I would have been led to conclude that all Europe had joined the Ananias club and was holding a tournament with some valuable trophy at stake. One thing is quite evident—any man who visits Europe now and who wishes to come out with a connected story which hangs together logically from beginning to end, with no cross currents, no contradictions, no puzzling entanglements, must visit only one nation. If he visits two, even if they were allies in the war, he is sure to be in a muddle of ideas. In the midst of this confusion, I chanced to hear a medical expert discussing the causes and effects of "*nervous prostration*." A good many of his technical expressions I did not follow, but between times I gathered a few salient points. He said this prevalent infirmity had three possible causes:

1. It is sometimes brought on by "overwork" but not often, and never unless accompanied by some other contributing element.

2. In nine cases out of ten it is brought on by the long pressure of some great "fear," some dread of a terrible calamity.

3. It may be produced by "brooding" over sorrow, disappointment, or fancied or real wrong.

He then made a general comment that the most violent cases were where all three of these were combined in their attack upon one patient. In speaking of the manifestations he said three were usually to be found in varying degrees of severity:

1. The patient loses "hope" and drops into a state of almost utter despair.

2. The patient usually imagines the "worst" about the possible results which may follow in the problems, concerning which fears are entertained.

3. The patient rapidly develops a state of "unreliability"—a condition which makes impossible rational thinking or normal action.

He made a second general statement to the effect that the disease was never fatal unless the patient was attacked by some other complaint during the period of nervous exhaustion; but added that unless relieved it did, in many instances, result in a permanently impaired mental condition.

In responding to inquiries as to the surest method of recovery and remedy, he said two things were absolutely essential:

1. *Remove the cause of the fear.* He was certain that travel, change of environment, sea resorts, and all the rest would be of small value till the fear quality had been eliminated.

2. Surround the patient with hopeful people and hopeful expectations.

In general comment he said again that just "rest" was no remedy at all if the causes remained the same, and that sometimes "a vacation in the hills" made the patient worse.

This scientific man was discussing the sad condition of a mutual friend, a single individual. But a little time for thought led me to the conclusion that this is just what has happened to continental Europe. She is nervously wrought upon to a state not at all realized by the more distant parts of the world, and to a degree far beyond that of which she herself is conscious. If the physician was correct in his diagnosis, Europe is suffering from all three of the causes.

These people, in the vast majority, have always had to work beyond that which God meant human beings to endure, but since 1914 their burden has been increased till everybody is involved, and everybody is working (of those who can get employment) beyond the limit of any natural endurance. It has been, and is now, a close clutch with terrific work or starvation. If overwork of itself alone could produce nervous prostration, these people have sufficient reason to be so afflicted.

But added to abnormal physical tasks, they have one hundred per cent to their credit in the second cause; namely, "fear." Every spot upon which I trod literally throbbed with fear, dread horror of the return of the blackness of 1914 to 1918, with its death and destruction in the battle zones, and of worse in the 1918 to 1922 period with plague, pestilence, disease, and starvation. The people of continental Europe have not simply been through one or two wars; they are the creatures of the soil overrun by wars and more war.

Generation and generation has struggled up a little, only to be beaten back to the dust by another war. They have likewise seen the evolution of this thing in frightfulness of results till its fury in 1914 to 1918 has about paralyzed their capacity for cheer. They have sense enough to wonder what another one would be. They hear the ominous rumblings of more conflict coming. They are repeatedly told that another outbreak is imminent. They listen in vain for any voice of authority from Washington, London, Paris, Berlin, or Petrograd, saying that the war theory is past. The people, the common people of Europe, are working on, yet under the horrifying depression of terror that the same old devilish war crowd will thrust the sword into their hands again. They have just cause to be afflicted with nervous prostration, by reason of this fear hanging over them year after year.

But as though these were not enough they have a tremendous amount of the third element of "brooding," "sorrow," "disappointment." Only two of the nations visited were at all free from a deep, terrible feeling that they have been wronged. Leaving apart any discussion of the merits of these feelings, they are fearfully real, and as the doctor said, "fancied" wrongs are just as dangerous as real ones in the effect upon the patient. They are thinking over the dead who they believe were needlessly slaughtered. They are thinking over the wrecked areas which, at best, can be only feebly restored in a hundred years. They are thinking of the ruthless territorial adjustments, which they believe were made with small recognition of the actual justice involved. They are thinking of those of common blood, tongue, and religion who have been torn

from them, who are not permitted to come to them and to whom they are not permitted to go. Their ears are filled with the stories of how those who belonged to them a few years ago are now deprived of the right to use their native tongue, to have their children taught in their own religion, or to worship God in their own free way. Europe had one Alsace-Lorraine from 1870 to 1918, but there are a hundred now and in every one of them daily tears are shed, prayers are offered, and vows are made. No one individual or company of people can fully estimate the "sorrow" liability of Europe. It is nerve-racking—enough to produce acute prostration, and to unfit them for the great tasks necessary in reconstruction.

But true as the diagnosis of causes was, and the parallel to these causes which was found in the life of continental Europe, the results were more convincing. One of the methods the medical fraternity follows in determining the nature of disease, so I am told, is to watch its manifestations in the patient, not only by temperature, but by actions, desires, and various whims. If that is correct, and the expert to whom reference has been made is correct, then surely Europe has nervous prostration.

These causes have led to these results. In most of the nations spoken of, there is an absence of hope. Despair of anything good in the future is largely prevalent. More stolid fatalists were met in these two months than in as many previous years. Most of the people in these nations have surrendered to the horrible conclusion that they are in a war-mad world, in which brute force is to rule without mercy, and that their only hope is to anticipate the possibility of being on the

winning side some day. They do not believe there is any such thing as a world where justice, righteousness, and brotherhood will prevail.

They are inclined to expect the worst of all the possible things to happen. Nearly every suggestion made of signs which indicated a better order of diplomacy and international processes, signs of which I was and am convinced there are many, was met by a counter-argument of some perfectly terrible thing that might happen. They are so wrought upon by what they have witnessed, and what they still fear, that they are not quite in command of their best faculties when considering the problems with which they must now cope. I do not remember any individual or group, who I believe willfully made false statements or submitted untrue data; but I am rather led to conclude that, when the facts stated were so far apart that otherwise the only conclusion could be falsehood, the real truth is to be better accepted in the extenuating circumstances of a fearfully overwrought nervous condition.

To go into these incidents adequately as applied to nine nations would take volumes for each one. But for all sorts and conditions of men who are true advocates of peace and brotherhood, it is of premier importance to get a sympathetic knowledge of the deep sincere feelings of these nations. They may be based upon error, but even error does not change their effect; neither does it remove the necessity for recognition in the adjustments which are yet to be made to secure the peace of the world. Remote, hasty conclusions will be of small value in helping the friendship ideal. Whatever the final verdict is to be, it must come from sources which have taken full account of how these leaders of all

kinds of life in their nations truly feel, and rigid, metallic, unyielding, unsympathetic attitudes only tend to make the situation worse.

The comment is not infrequently heard that sometimes nervous prostration is assumed by a certain type of individual as an excuse to evade unpleasant duties, to explain unseemly conduct, or to secure a good vacation. To those even partially familiar with the facts, this charge against Europe will not avail. The causes are overwhelming. A few general conditions may be noted which are having their effect, more or less, upon every nook and corner of these countries of continental Europe.

First: All of that part of the world expected the Peace Treaty would be based upon the famous "Fourteen Points" enunciated by President Wilson. Repeated explanation that these were at best only preliminary suggestions and only the view of one individual, does not at all lessen the keen sense of disappointment. People point to the fact that, to all appearances, the whole world arose, cheered, and proclaimed these principles as the basis of a new civilization, in which justice and good will would supplant the old forms of aggression, secret compacts, and inter-alliances. There certainly remains no doubt but that their expectation in this respect had real foundation. The general feeling is that the Armistice was hastened by at least ten months by this proclamation. President Wilson issued them to the world in January, 1918. Upon November fifth the Entente Allies accepted them, with only one mild suggestion of change. November 11, 1918 they were signed as the basis of peace, to be fully worked out later. But the Versailles Conference

came and, little by little, these points were obliterated or so modified that in the final document they had passed out of recognition. Perhaps they were bad; possibly they ought not to have been published in advance of the Armistice, but, even so, the serious effect remains. They were the hope of the world then, and they are gone the way of all the earth now. But in their loss most of the nations of continental Europe have been so stunned that they have nearly abandoned all capacity to believe in anything which has humanitarian expectations in it. In several nations the current view is that these principles were never seriously meant to be adopted, and were issued as a trap, as a trick, to break down the morale of the powers opposing the Entente forces. Completely as one may disbelieve this theory, it is not easy to convince these people that such was not the case. Trained by long years to be deceived, schooled in the realm where secret diplomacy had always been accustomed to tell the people one thing and mean something else, they naturally wonder if the Fourteen Points were not just staged for psychological results.

Whatever may be the last judgment about the wisdom of the Fourteen Points, as to content or time of issuance, there is no possible doubt but that if they had been lived up to at the Versailles Conference, Europe and the whole world would not be in its present mess of bankrupt finances and worse yet bankrupt morale, in loss of confidence that anybody in the diplomatic world will tell the truth.

Second: All these nations believed that the United States would go into the League of Nations and take the leading part in making it effective. This was an

American proposal, it was approved by practically all the standard papers, respected by respectable folks, and there was never a suspicion that we were to bring it forward and then refuse to become a member of it. All the well-worked excuses do not alter this primary conviction upon which the whole world was proceeding.

Lest the spirit of this chapter may be misunderstood, the writer feels led to say he was among those who earnestly welcomed the ideal of a League of Nations, and was sorely disappointed when the actual covenant was made known. But this statement and every other attempt to explain, do not relieve the effect this incident has had upon European conditions. Once these nations hoped to have recourse in hours of trouble to a League in which there would be such a sense of fair play, and behind which there would be such prestige, that justice to the least in the world would be guaranteed. But, instead, they look with doubt to the present organization and are led to believe they must just fight in the old way to get anything.

The depressing effect of these facts cannot be easily overstated, neither can it be easily understood by those far removed from the actual soil involved. Prominent men in every nation visited are constantly talking of how different the whole situation might be if the principles declared in the Fourteen Points had prevailed and America had been a member of the League of Nations. The failure to bring this about has left the marks of fear for the future and resentment for the past.

Third: All Europe is literally bewildered in its attempt to understand the almost complete economic

wreck which has swept practically over every nation, even involving seriously those which remained neutral from 1914 to 1918. Happily, God has caused the rain and sunshine to bring forth enough food to relieve the starvation factor to a large degree. But from the standpoint of the future they see no hope of recovery. All the natural channels of older commerce are broken up by the new geographical divisions. Nations left with coal have no raw materials; those with the raw materials have no coal. Nearly all the borders are closed tight against exports or imports. The exchange is so hazardous that no one dare make a decided move in any business enterprise. At one place, I asked the price of an auto for about a sixty-mile drive over as fine a road as may be found in Massachusetts or California. It was quoted to me at 120,000 kronen. In normal times this would have meant \$24,000. In reality it was about twelve dollars. At the same rate I would have been compelled to pay about 200,000 marks, had the transaction been in Germany. I was told, while in Czecho-Slovakia, that Polish money had practically been abandoned as of no value—what had already happened in Russia. The result is that there is no field for manufacturing in a normal way and no outlet, with borders mostly closed. One member of the British Parliament announced in May, 1922, that he had been making an investigation which led him to believe there were 17,000,000 unemployed in Europe (none of these, however, in Germany) all of whom were responsible bread-winners. Debts are accumulating beyond the power of the mathematicians to compute. The Genoa Conference met, struggled hard, endured much, did something, but sent out no word of encouragement.

Therefore, there need be no surprise if many of these peoples seem to do utterly absurd things and say crazy things. I remember watching Wall Street one day in 1897 when one or two trust companies had failed. Men otherwise calm and dignified ran coatless and hatless through the streets, knocking people over in their haste. Continental Europe is seeing whole nations going into bankruptcy. Men who were worth millions of dollars even two and three years ago are paupers today. But I haven't yet seen anything as silly as that New York City scene, when a few men were afraid they were going to lose a few dollars. No judgment of Europe is fair now unless it is sympathetic enough to understand this psychology. Czecho-Slovakia, Switzerland, the Netherlands, and Scandinavia are involved less than others, but all are under this fear. These general elements are intensified to a fearful degree and are common to all Europe, but the unique conditions in some of the nations are even more severe and are worthy of particular attention.

Judgment of Greece must be tempered by knowledge of the fact that the Greeks feel they are being abandoned by their former allies, and left unsupported to be the buffer for the furious coming of the Turk. That contest they believe is for life or death as a nation. Their fears are increased by the rumors that, in the midst of the struggle, Bulgaria may attack from the north to regain what was lost in 1918. They are the children of the world's ancient glory. In their veins the blood is yet rich in their ancestry, and their love of the past and their hope for the future make the welfare of their nation precious. But they are seeing the possibility of being wiped out of existence, of being

literally annihilated as a nation. The Greeks have reason to be nervous.

Judgment of Bulgaria must be based upon some comprehension of her feelings. She is a land of beauty and culture; ninety five per cent. of her people are literate; schools are abundant and of high quality; her people are famous for industrious life. She feels that she was betrayed into surrender in October, 1918, by a promise of a treaty founded upon the Fourteen Points. She believes she had no part in bringing on the war. She believes her cause was never listened to by the Versailles Conference. She believes the penalties imposed are beyond all reason. Territory has been lost to nations of the south and north. The present suggested reparations call for an amount equal to one thousand dollars from every man, woman, and child in the nation to be paid inside of three years, or about five thousand dollars for each producer. The purpose now is not to argue personal opinions about the right or wrong of the penalties, but to say that the feelings of the people must be thought of seriously by all who hope for final peace.

Judgment of the Serb-Croat-Slovene state must be in remembrance of what they have passed through, not only since 1914, but back as far as the fifteenth century. However, the later years are enough. They were overrun by armies of the Central Powers twice during the war. Every railroad bridge over every stream was destroyed. Two hundred and fifty priests of the Orthodox Church were shot, and a thousand more taken as prisoners. The loss of life compared to population was second only to that of Belgium. They belonged to the winning side in the war, but they are

being left as between the upper and nether millstones, to struggle their way back to self-support and a stable government, and all the while with a dread of what Italy is going to do to them on the west. They think the fact that they were an ally of Italy from 1915 to 1918 has been forgotten, and with dread they are expecting outbreaks of a violent kind with the Italians upon their western frontier, who seem unwilling to have them benefit by accessible ports on the Adriatic Sea. Jugo-Slavia is nervous and the critics are severe, but there is genuine basis for their sensitive feelings.

Judgment also of the Hungarians is useless unless tempered by ability to realize what their feelings are. Every ancient charge may be true, or less severe than they may have deserved, but even if that theory were accepted it does not relieve the strain of their present anguish and resentment. In common with other farther Eastern nations, they feel tremendously that they were not the cause of the war, and had no voice in deciding whether they would participate or not. One American who was in Budapest when the bulletins were being posted in the last hours of July, 1914, told me he heard men and women weep aloud as the news told them they were in the war, and must again go through the horrors of older years. Their destiny was fixed primarily in Berlin, incidentally in Vienna. They were not asked what they thought, and they now feel that those who dispensed the penalties ought to take this into account.

They are also bewildered by the fact that they stopped fighting when the Fourteen Points were published, and felt a great sense of relief as they based their hopes of the future upon Clause No. X of that

famous prophecy, which reads as follows: "The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity for autonomous development." Instead of this safeguarding they have been ripped asunder, one chunk tossed to Jugo-Slavia, another to Roumania, some more to Czecho-Slovakia, and finally a piece to their former ally, Austria. In 1914 they had 28,000,000 population; they now have a little less than 12,000,000. Upon one square there have been erected in Budapest four marble statues, commemorating their losses to each of these nations, and, of course, as a reminder to those who follow them, that love of country demands that these lost parts shall someday, sometime, be won back. They ask that the effect of what they hoped for and what they received be reckoned with.

They stopped fighting in October, 1918, but they were invaded in 1919 by the Roumanian army, which swept clear into Budapest, and for days loaded train after train with everything of value the soldiers could get their hands on, and shipped it to Bucharest. The Entente Allies offered no protest; the Hungarians had no army with which to resist. They are remembering this, and the wound is deeper the longer they think and get no explanation.

They are sitting amid the wreck of their economic system, wondering how they will ever rebuild it. Governor Horthy said in a personal interview, "Our most valuable assets have been given to others; as illustration, we haven't wood enough left to make coffins for our dead." They feel as though they have been used as a sort of a "slush fund," out of which the bills were

to be paid as the various conquerors made their demands. When Bohemia had to be compensated, 7,000,000 of the population were cut off to make up Czecho-Slovakia. When Serbia asked for her share, about the same amount was awarded to her, out of which was built the Serb-Croat-Slovene State. When Roumania came forward for her part of the spoil, 2,000,000 more of Hungary's people were charged off to that account. For some reason nobody knows, a small slice was taken off and stuck on the western border of Austria.

While pondering over these incidents, they see the Reparation Commission living in luxurious style while they deliberate upon the final penalties. A colonel's salary, the decorative element of one of these commissions, is double that of the Governor. A common soldier of the Entente commission gets 675,000 kronen, while the Hungarian Prime Minister receives 15,000. The commission takes the Bristol Hotel and operates it at top speed. All this is a final charge to the Hungarian Government. They have capacity for great sorrow, and it is being taxed to its utmost, and, whatever the final decisions are, they are worthless unless they have taken these elements into the bookkeeping. A direct comment is ventured to the effect that, of the defeated nations visited, the Hungarians have more courage and will to go forward left than was observed at any other place. Hardly able to see a ray of hope for many years to come, they are struggling valiantly.

The same general statement may be made of Austria. Once she was the proud center of Europe's finest life—a nation of nearly 30,000,000, now less than 8,000,000. Of these 2,000,000 are in Vienna, with no possible

means of adequate support, with all the borders closed against her. They see only two hopes: one, to be joined to Germany that they may at least have that much outlet for commerce; the other, to save their universities and colleges, and thus remain a great center of culture and education.

Likewise, all the verdicts about Czecho-Slovakia are good only as they enter into the causes of some anxieties under which the people live. This newest republic of Europe, presided over by the gallant President Masaryk who was elected for life, while having much to give satisfaction and encouragement, shows signs of severe nervousness. They are trying to bind into a unit elements as widely different as the inhabitants of the North and South Poles might be. They know the fury in the heart of Germany, Austria, and Hungary towards them. They view with alarm the alliance between Germany and Bolshevik Russia. They have in their western territory those who would join a revolution at any moment Germany might begin another war. They have more in the south who would do the same thing, if either Austria or Hungary would take the initiative in the attack. They are passing through anxious hours concerning internal affairs. The new Czech National Church, which is composed of hundreds of former priests of the Roman Catholic Church and hundreds of thousands of people who have thrown off that control, has injected a religious tension which in ordinary times would be enough of a problem alone for one government to handle. The Bolshevik sentiment, while well in the minority, is a constant menace.

A short time in Eastern Germany was not sufficient

to gain any new evidence with which to modify the common view, that the people are writhing under the sting of defeat, rebelling against accepting responsibility for what happened in 1914, determined to evade payment of reparations, and vowing for revenge by the method of war some day.

Russia and Poland, the two nations most in chaos, were not visited; but every manner of information, either through printed page or from those who had been in personal contact, indicated that their nervous system had reached the hysterical stage.

A strange yet wonderfully helpful contrast was found in crossing the border into Switzerland, that charmed nation which, although surrounded by war from 1914 to 1918, remained neutral. A few days there, with visits to three of the popular centers, revealed no malice toward others, no desire for revenge, no necessity for defense—conditions which might have been found in others of the neutral nations if they had been included. For the first time in eight months, I was not called upon to listen to any story of wrongs and injustice or threats of revenge. Yet even Switzerland is nervous. The business depression is the most severe of a generation. Manufacturing is at a low ebb and has no market. The great hotels are empty and porters are standing at the door waiting for the uncertain American tourist to arrive. Switzerland listens to the mutterings, the wrangling, the threatenings of all her neighbors, and cannot feel sure that another and even more desperate war is not approaching. She is likewise not at all sure but that, in such an event, she will be involved, and thus, some day not too far distant, be in the same deplorable condition as that of the recent

combatants. Therefore Switzerland, typifying the neutrals, is not free from the malady, although it has not reached the acute stage in her life.

Judgment of France is worth listening to only if it is supported by wisdom enough to appreciate the French attitude of mind. Upon this question I have some opinions well enough established to express them without reservation. From San Francisco to Paris, through Japan, China, India, Egypt, and Europe I had been hearing that France had suddenly become the imperialistic nation of the world, bent upon military aggression for world power. I knew I did not believe that, from some knowledge of France before 1914. I know I did not believe that in 1917 and 1918. I knew I did not believe that by personal contact in 1921. I wondered if all this change would have taken place in twelve months. Here, once more, it is not the purpose of the writer to argue the merits of certain incidents. Perhaps France was too severe in the Versailles Conference. Perhaps France was too insistent at Washington upon her military necessities. Perhaps France had been too generous in treatment of the Turk. Perhaps France was too stubborn at Genoa. But what are the actual, deep, honest convictions which the French have and which must be remembered in appraising their movements? France believes the Treaty of Versailles, which all the nations signed, ought to be lived up to. She is utterly unable to understand why so many nations signed that Treaty and then immediately began to act as though it were not binding.

France believes the calling of special conferences is just one more method of defeating the Versailles Treaty. These conferences may have the highest

motives and, if so, France is willing to participate, but she cannot help feeling that the real purpose is to reopen the whole situation clear back to November 11, 1918. France believes Germany is persistently preparing to attack her again, and that if she does her ally will be Russia, and that if successful, "Mercy" would be the last word to be found in the dictionary. France believes the rebuilding of the devastated regions is to be delayed by many, many years. Nearly four years have passed and, to a terrible degree, the devastation is still about as it was when General Foch gave the order to cease firing. No substantial reparations have been paid by Germany, and none are probable for a long period yet to come. Thus, the wreck of northern France remains an element of increasing aggravation.

France lives in perfect horror of what the future has in store for her. Five times in one hundred and thirty years she has been invaded by Germany. I talked with one man whose home had twice been occupied by German officers in his lifetime. Germany, with almost twice the population of France, with millions of her men well trained soldiers, only lacking uniform and arms, and with every public utterance of her prominent men couched in terms of threat and revenge, gives abundant ground for this tremendous fear of the future and determination to be prepared for the blow if it comes.

I found no evidence that France was jealous for more territory. I heard men in high political office say with deep feeling, "God knows we want no more war; we are sick and tired of it." I saw a major-general of the French Army applaud the expressed hope of a warless world. I believed France a worthy ally

in 1917 and 1918; I believe her equally worthy in 1922. France has convictions, and her chief characteristic is not to be vacillating. The Entente praised her qualities of determination in the autumn of 1914. They praised them more in 1916, 1917, and 1918. There may be yet more cause to be thankful for the same tokens in 1922. She is nervous, and, as one of her friends said, inclined to be a bit "jumpy." She may have been unwise in some utterances; but only those who can appreciate her feelings, her fears, her memories, her hopes, and her history are eligible to be her critics.

Europe presents a sad picture: wrecked financially; living in a state of complete confusion about the future; having her hopes lifted high at one moment in the presence of some new prophecy, of some new remedy, only to have them dashed to pieces by the discovery that it is not acceptable to the powers that be; swept by waves of hate and envy which forbid coöperation; horrified at the possibility of another great war. It is not strange that she is broken down nervously.

I was glad the medical man said that this affliction was never fatal unless accompanied by other complications. No man who travels over the beautiful hills and fields of Europe, and sees her people so willing to work hard and endure much, can easily accept the theory of death. Even in the presence of no ability to suggest any apparent basis of relief, there remains the confident assurance that there is a way out and that it will be found. Europe is about as sick as any patient ever was who recovered, but she will recover. Among the things necessary, the ordinary layman can easily discern two which are fundamental. There is, doubtless, need

for loans and financial commissions, but they will not avail much if unaccompanied by deeds.

In the first place, remove the fear of war.

Tired and distracted as they are, I believe if some voice with authority could tell the people of Europe that there never would be another war, every man, woman, and child—except the war lords—in every nation would throw up their hats in glee and go to work with a song on their lips and new courage in their hearts. The task ahead would still seem severe, but it would be undertaken with confidence. It is the horror of more war which makes the job intolerable, not the magnitude of it.

In the second place, persuade Europe to accept the program of coöperation, instead of closed borders and isolation.

If every state in the United States was jealous of all the bordering states, and had barriers against travel and trade, it would wreck the whole nation in a few years, but this is just what is going on in Europe. I preached a doctrine at one meeting in Prague, which I thought was upon a high level, when I said that Europe needed to adopt the ideal of "live and let live." A beautiful Bohemian woman, president of the "Mothers' Peace Society," in responding said: "Mr. Smith's platform isn't high enough. What we in Europe need is an era of living to *help* live, if we are to recover." If every ideal of the Washington and Genoa Conferences is realized, if loans big enough to float the indebtedness of all the nations are secured, if all nations join the League of Nations and follow it, and even the terror of war is removed, but still the present system of hate, jealousy, and refusal to live upon a platform of

coöperation is to be continued, there can be no cure for Europe. "Coöperation" is the biggest word to be taught to continental Europe if she is to recover.

Peace or War ; Life or Death ; Hate or Brotherhood are still the vexed uncertain questions of Europe.

CHAPTER XIII

GREAT BRITAIN

The Land of Unfailing Courage

AT the close of a tour through many nations, with never twenty-four hours on land or sea entirely free from some problem related to the issues involving the peace of the world, the perils of war, the principles of brotherhood, or the new demands of reconstruction, it was a strange set of impulses and memories which were put in motion as the soil of the British Isles, the heart of the British Empire, was reached. As contrasted with much of the life met in most of the nations earlier visited, it was like a newborn hope that everything everywhere was going to be all right after a while. I had been led to write of continental Europe as very "nervous," of other peoples in "turmoil," and others excited and fomenting disorder. The British Isles I found calm, thoughtful, serious, fully conscious of the world crisis, but going ahead steadily to perform a great service with traditional courage. We had for all the months been struggling with border entrances, where it seemed as though every possible handicap was being used to make intercommunication difficult. Police, passport, and custom legislations had been almost intolerable. Everybody seemed suspicious of everybody. These border cross-

ings were remembered as being noisy, boisterous, and wrangling experiences. One fact alone made them endurable. So far as customs regulations were involved, I said frequently as we were compelled to pull everything out and have it overhauled and examined, "This is horrible, but not so horrible as entering the United States." America still retains the blue ribbon in this form of international pest.

But entering England was quiet, orderly, and with a kind of "welcome friend" touch to it. Leaving by the route of one of the greatest ships on sea was of the same type. No shouting, no crowding, no pulling and hauling. Traveling in eighteen different nations and then coming to the British Isles is a good way to know real British character. In all the long reaches of travel by rail and ship, covering approximately thirty thousand miles, we had been one half the distance and one half the actual days under the Union Jack, the emblem of the Empire. But the pivot of it all was here on these little islands, so small that I am always more or less afraid to go out at night lest I may fall off. I usually feel a bit worried on a train there lest if it gets running too fast it may not be able to stop before it gets clear across the place and goes plunging into the water.

I went out soon after arrival in London and found my way to Westminster, and just looked at the majesty of the Parliament Buildings, and the Abbey at their side. There is no other scene like that on the earth; all others are imitations. There are typified government and religion of a type, upon a world scale not yet attempted, achieved, or dreamed of by any other people. Other journeys round the world and many other visits

to this spot all combined had never made the deep, profound impression of this hour.

I knew that of all the nations not one was carrying such a load as this one. Her tax rate is now ten times higher than that of Germany, who keeps herself in the papers every day with an awful tale of woe about "bankruptcy"—a word, by the way, not heard in London. Her internal domestic problems are fierce, from Ireland to India. Her unemployed are as large in percentage as any nation on earth. Her loans to foreign powers are the largest of any and no request does she make that what she owes to others be refunded. She suggests this for others of her allies, but goes forward expecting to pay pound for pound with interest herself. Great Britain has a thousand reasons why she might send out an "S. O. S." but she does not, and there is no flurry, no turmoil, no whimpering, no sordid portrayal of collapse.

I had read in newspaper accounts the address of Sir James M. Barrie upon "Courage" which was delivered at St. Andrew's in Edinburgh, and is well worth being read by the youth and elders of all the world in any generation, but particularly so in this one. It seemed to me that he had spoken not the sentiment of one man, but rather opened all the secret chambers of the heart of Britain and had spoken of the truest character of a mighty nation. For they are called upon now, to live not by seeing, not by what may be counted in assets, not by what is made sure in the future, but by COURAGE. While I stood by those tokens of Westminster Government and morals I had no desire to magnify this nation over any other, and I have no such inclination now, but I could not and cannot resist two impulses—the first,

to ask why this nation should have started upon these spots of land and spread till the sun never goes down upon its colors; the second, to record the conviction that the unchanging peace of the world is more dependent upon the good offices of the British Empire than of any other one power in existence. I hold no scant view of the place the United States of America has in great hope for influencing the rest of the world, but it is second in importance to Britain. Therefore to that growing multitude of peace lovers in the world it is of immense value to understand the British Government, its past glory and errors, its recent service from 1914 to date, and its fundamental purpose for the future.

Because I had read and heard so much of what might be called criticism of the British Empire and had been often told it was to decline and go the way of others of great fame in the past, I sought with diligence to know every fact both favorable and otherwise concerning it as I traveled. Even though I was passing over the same territory I had covered three and four times in previous tours, I sought again the latest, newest impressions. The statements that follow are made only because they are believed to be essential as elements in the fulfillment of the grandest hope ever cherished by the human race, and in helping to answer the mightiest prayer ever offered to Almighty God; namely, that this world may speedily become forever free from the devastating effects of war.

By the evidence at hand, the welfare of the British Empire and the peace of the world are interlocked and inseparable.

The British Government exhausted every avenue to this end in 1914. The messages of Lord Grey in the

closing hours of July of that sad year will be read a hundred and five hundred years hence as the witness of this nation's dread of war in Europe and hope for peace at that time. All the vital records from that month to the last hour of the Genoa Conference confirm this quality as the truest expression of British life. All actions may not have been the wisest—upon this point good men can differ—but the sincere desire for peace has been so evidenced that no room for doubt is left.

That this power shall not be hampered or lost in the future, some facts about the world characteristics of the Empire are of immense importance to the friendship movement everywhere. Personal contact and persistent inquiry leave these facts undisputed about Great Britain's Government, what it does, what it forbids, what it really is. They are submitted not with any reference to sequence or logic and not at all as bearing upon international treaties or alliances, but as common facts accepted by friends and sometimes enemies, and as principles essential to any and all nations that really seek the good of the world in these perplexing years.

First: The British Government has a very high and just respect for religion. From the time one reads this carved on the walls in the great cities of the British Isles—in St. Paul's Cathedral, where in the stone steps is carved the spot where Queen Victoria gave thanks to God upon her sixtieth anniversary, and in Westminster Abbey where kings and royalty bow their heads in recognition of the Supreme Ruler—out to the remotest corner of the Empire, they respect religion. This is found on land and sea, at home and abroad. There is, almost without exception, a divine service on the Sabbath day in every ship carrying the British flag.

The ordinary sports and games are put away upon the holy day. I cannot refrain from remembering the contrast between Sunday on a ship flying the Union Jack and on ships of any other flag. The latter usually make no difference for Sunday, and sometimes I have felt attempts were made to have that day one of special hilarity. I regret deeply to say that thus far the ships flying the Stars and Stripes have not been taught to observe the sacredness of this day. On a ship of 46,000 tons of a British line on the north Atlantic I saw the great lounge filled to capacity on a Sunday morning for "Divine Worship" which was conducted by the Master of the Ship himself and no other—a scene the like of which I never have witnessed on a ship of any other nation in twenty-five years of almost annual voyages somewhere. On land the stores, shops, factories, and offices close for that one day of rest and worship throughout the Empire. The Britisher believes in and respects religion.

There is found, however, a very remarkable quality in this, that while their religion is intensely of the Christian faith, in administering regions where other types of religion such as Hinduism and Mohammedanism abound, they are equally insistent that there should be free, full, absolute liberty of conscience to worship in every man's own peculiar way. In conversation with a Hindu leader, an effective politician, who was a rather severe critic of the Government, I asked if he had ever heard of any instance in which any official of the Government had in any manner interfered with the liberty of the Hindu people in their form of worship, and his quick response was "No." I have not infrequently heard some critics say that this principle was

guarded so carefully that advantage was given to opposing faiths. The British Government believes in Christianity as a religion, they respect it, they recognize it on land, on sea, in peace, in war.

The British Government believes in the rights of religious majorities or minorities, and does guarantee to all protection in performing their acts of worship. This element is in striking contrast to the history of some nations which by force have compelled religious conformity, and some which are even yet making this the chief factor in their persecution of conquered subjects. A part of the secret of this nation's power is this attitude toward the divinest thing in human life.

Second: The British Government believes in the doctrine of an "open door." It is a genuine pleasure to remember that it was a great American, the Hon. John Hay, who gave widest public recognition to this ideal, but an equally satisfying thing to observe how this world-extended Anglo-Saxon empire has practiced it to the remotest corners of the traveled world. This statement is made with no fear but that it can stand investigation, notwithstanding many charges that are being brought forward of incidents said to disprove it, with which the writer is familiar. Whatever may have occurred in the past, this fact is sure now: At any port of call anywhere, in which any ship of any nation en route upon an honorable voyage of commerce sees the British flag flying over the government house, it may be known that the port is open to be freely entered. They may buy, sell, trade, exchange, without interference. This, once more, is in striking contrast to much other national life. The sin of Europe to-day is its closed doors. Its people may cry for a hundred

years about reparations and geography, but there will be no permanent relief till they open the doors for travel, trade, and friendly intercourse. A decided element of the strength of the British Empire is this open door idea, for if their attitude had been different in the past they could not have survived the strain of their long, thin, natural borders during the last three years. A closed door with selfish purposes in the past would have meant ruin now. Their open door method is a vital quality in their enduring strength.

Third: The British Government believes in autonomy in relation to all parts of its kingdom. I rather think the word "autonomy" was put upon the political map by the President of the United States, the Hon. William McKinley, during the Spanish American War as the principle being contended for in reference to Cuba. President Wilson gave the idea a furious jump forward when he declared for "self-determination." But in practice this has been the cardinal doctrine of the British Government for a good many years. All Americans and most Britishers recall an hour when that idea was not prevalent. If it had been in 1770, the entire continent of North America might now be a part of the British Empire. King George III didn't hold that view then. But later years and records have established it thoroughly. Wide differences may still obtain about the necessity of the Boer War in 1900. But the attitude of the Government since has been generous. Within six months of the close of that war a general election was ordered, all citizens eligible to vote anywhere in the Empire were granted suffrage, and practically all the important offices have ever since been held by Dutchmen.

Canada, Australia, and New Zealand are supreme illustrations of this conception of autonomy. There are many in the world who believe the British Government has been too generous in this respect with Ireland and Egypt. Certainly no one familiar with the facts can believe they are unwilling to grant India all that is possible without harm to the rest of the world and their own Empire. There may have been blunders in details and in specific cases, but surely not in the vital fact.

This doctrine is a significant quality in the greatness of the solidarity of the nation.

Fourth: The British Government has an intense anxiety for the human welfare of all its people. Whole volumes could be well written by informed men upon features of this general statement.

No sooner does this Government's representative arrive anywhere than a general clean-up of physical conditions begins, if such is necessary. I have incidents of this sort related by outsiders, concerning the prompt application of good methods of sanitation, the supplying of pure water, the establishment of good order, and respect for law which came with the presence of this authority, many of which have sounded like romance. Jerusalem "before" and "after" Lord Allenby would be a good illustration for the seeker after facts. The filth was carried out, the street rioting was stopped, and the brigands were put in jail. Where there was no decent water to drink, inside of three months 300,000 gallons of pure water per month was made available. All food for sale in the bazaar was immediately inspected and made to pass as number one in quality.

The British open every door to education. They invite schools. I heard with intense interest of how the Government is just now giving special grants of financial aid to anybody conducting standard schools for the lowest castes of India. They underwrite partially all the schools which maintain a high grade of efficiency. They grant support and property to hospitals, playgrounds, recreation and social centers. This human service in human ways to common needy people is a part of the secret of Britain's power. Many unique elements, some of which are peculiar to certain places, might be included but these mentioned are the ones which seemed most conspicuous and are common everywhere.

To protect this statement for some who read and may feel that these facts are written by one who is entirely unfamiliar with the other side of the story and not conscious of some of the current gossip, I think it important to note that I have read much from the pens of Lord Northcliffe, Colonel Wedgewood, and the suppressed Horatio Bottomley. I have studied Keynes's "Economic Results of the Peace Treaty" and Zimmermann's "Europe in Convalescence." I am not unfamiliar with the writings of H. G. Wells, Sir Philip Gibbs, Madison Grant, and Lathrop Stoddard. I have heard with lasting profit Dean Inge preach. I am too well acquainted with the views of Mr. Hearst, and of a few American politicians who seem to be able to keep in the public eye by attacks upon England. I am well aware that some fearful mistakes have been made. "Amritsar" and "Colonel Beyer" will long live in India as a menace to the good name of Britain. I know perfectly well that there still lives a certain type of

Britisher who does not know good manners. He bullies around as though God created the sun, moon, and stars, as well as the earth, for his exclusive use. I have some sympathy with the Englishman who, when writing of this peril in the Far East, said, "Bad manners are bad enough in themselves, but if they persist now, in this new-made world, they will ruin us, destroy us, as insolence destroyed Carthage, Rome, Spain, and Potsdam." I have with my own ears heard men of this nation singing "Rule Britannia" in a fashion to disgust serious folks who knew the song to be a huge joke and an echo of a dying philosophy. I know Great Britain is drinking enough whisky and soda to wreck her eventually if it is not restrained. I heard one of her ablest citizens say that if they could save their annual drink bill of about \$2,400,000,000, with its attendant penalties, they could pay their whole war debt in five years. I know there are men saying that the British Empire is dying, breaking up, and that its glory is in the past. I know there are plenty of people who believe Lloyd George is a politician and only a politician, and that he is hanging on to an office far beyond the day when he is of any good to his country. I have no doubt but that it was a strategic blunder to have the Prince of Wales visit India in the winter of 1921 and '22. Even his delightful personality, his democratic manners, his evident sincerity, could not balance the weight of the deep feeling of resentment at this display and extravagance in the midst of India's cry for liberty. I have heard all this gossip and read these books and magazine articles.

I also know there are a lot of "funny things" in England. We had the privilege of attending Grand Opera

in Covent Garden. King George, Queen Alexandra, and most of the royal family were there. They were given a worthy reception as they entered. A few days later we attended the great Derby horse race at Epsom. The papers said a million people were there. The King and the royal family also came. That night we attended a theater, when I saw in Leicester Square what I thought was the same million people packed to suffocation waiting for something. Of course I thought the King was following me again. But upon investigation I learned that Donohue, the jockey who rode "Captain Cuttle" to victory in the Derby, was expected. The ovation given him made the King's seem like a church service in Scotland. That is a "funny thing."

But of each of these sad and humorous incidents I also know the reverse. I know the men and women of that noble majority whose service to India is always kind and generous, who shudder at violence or injustice there. I know that host of larger number whose manners are always gracious, who are forever saying "I'm sorry" when they have nothing to be sorry for. I know that deeper element who think of their country in terms of service rather than ruling.

I know that tremendous temperance sentiment which is rapidly being organized to fight out the liquor question. I am sure it is a potent power, for already they have driven whisky to its corner with two of its dying cries, very familiar to America: First, "Don't meddle with my business, for in doing so you attack the divine right of personal liberty"; second, "Don't meddle with my business, for in doing so you will cut off revenues and bankrupt the nation." Whenever or wherever the liquor crowd begin to say these things, one may be sure

there is a strong temperance movement under way. Add to that the supreme wail, "Prohibition does not prohibit," and the evidence of power is complete. All of these are now being heard in Britain.

I know the vast number of God-fearing people around the world who believe Britain's greatest contribution to humanity is in the years yet to be—changed, modified, reconstructed surely, but to live on. I know Britain will have more prime ministers. The spirit of Gladstone is still in the blood. Return to my original thought leaves me room to say that I have no ability which warrants the assumption of all knowledge concerning the Government of Great Britain. I have no desire to excuse her faults or magnify her virtues unduly. What is written is based on the most intense feeling of a lifetime, that every possible capacity of good is going to be necessary to preserve a suffering humanity from another great war.

Peace on earth is more important now, than hope of peace for a millenium in eternity. If the utter collapse of the British Empire or of any other nation, including my own, were essential to that consummation, I would hope for that to occur. But because I believe Great Britain as a world power is seeking that peace, and because I believe such a condition among the nations is impossible now without the good offices of Great Britain, and because I believe the enemies of international good will and concord have been unjustly impugning the motives of this nation, I have been led to call attention to these facts.

All those in this great world who have human love for humankind, who seek peace and brotherhood, ought to have warmest sympathy for the services now being

rendered by this steady persistent nation of unfailing courage: Great Britain—sometimes in the wrong, sometimes shortsighted, sometimes selfish, sometimes very “peculiar”—she is a true friend of World Peace.

CHAPTER XIV

AMERICA

"For unto whom much is given from him shall much be required."

"In spite of our complete divorcement of church and state, quite in harmony with our religious freedom, there is an important relationship between church and nation, because no nation can prosper, no nation can survive, if it ever forgets Almighty God. I have believed that religious reverence has played a very influential and helpful part in the matchless American achievements, and I wish it ever to abide. If I were to utter a prayer for the republic to-night, it would be to reconsecrate us in religion and devotion and make us abidingly a God-fearing, God-loving people."—President Warren G. Harding, in an address to the Bible Class of Calvary Baptist Church, Washington, D. C.

"It is gradually dawning upon the intelligence of mankind that if they want to avoid going along the old ways which lead to wars, it is America that matters most, America and Britain. America more than Britain. Americans do not grab."—Colonel J. C. Wedgewood, M. P.

"It is in the power of America to rescue the world or lead it to ruin."—*The Daily Yorodzu*, Tokyo.

AFTER a long period away from home, a ship on the Atlantic bound for New York is a good place on which to get a right perspective of America by an American. An earlier chapter entitled "In the Heart of America" remained a sort of anchorage during periods of many kinds of estimates, good, bad, and indifferent, heard in many kinds of countries. Nothing

has changed that essential view of what America is now, but intervening experiences have raised a multitude of questions about the long, long years which are yet to be. What this great nation will be one hundred, five hundred, and a thousand years hence is a more complicated question, by far, than the mere recitation of present facts. I have traveled over lands now in ruins which were once the home of nations with a glory of wealth and splendor and population never equaled from New York harbor to the Golden Gate. I have also been through others of more recent power which are surely crumbling, breaking down, and on their way to oblivion. It has, therefore, been impossible many times to restrain the question, "What is America's real destiny?" "What has the distant future in store for this favored people?" I know there is a type of provincial, untutored, untamed, loud-talking American, who declares our country to be the grandest of all history up to date, and with boisterous confidence avows it will be forever greatest and will eventually swallow up the whole earth. Out of many wanderings my return now brings this kind to memory with more pity and disgust than ever. This loud-mouthed, swaggering, boasting character is not only a travesty upon the country, but a positive menace to the good friendship America so much wishes to enjoy with other races and nations. Every time he shouts about America's greatness the country loses prestige among thinking folks, and her stock goes lower.

On the deck of the ship I met one of America's truly great men, who had also been traveling around the world. He said, "Out of your contacts with these various countries which one are you most concerned

about, which one is most dangerous?" Without delay I answered, much to his surprise, "America." He was thinking, I doubt not, of where there was most peril of war breaking out immediately. I was thinking of those forces necessary to produce enduring peace and an enduring nation.

It would take a congress of the wisest men, representing all the varied life of the nation, even to approach a prophetic program adequate to this future, but one thing is absolutely certain and needs to be written over every activity of the country's life. If America is to remain great, she must follow a philosophy of national and international life which is *different* from that of the older powers. She must be saved from gradually adopting the old creeds of greed, jealousy, selfishness, love of territorial expansion, and hope of life by the means of force, and by war in emergencies. These have been tried in the balance and found wanting. These are the surest route to destruction. I would feel a greater degree of confidence for the far future if I was certain that the whole nation was convinced that we must be *different*. There would doubtless be many long struggles in finding that different way, but they would be filled with hope if the people were united in searching for a national life which would be free from the pits into which so many others have fallen.

I, therefore, look to the west over the bow of a great ship, restless for a sign of the shores of that land out of which I was born, and ready to salute the flags floating from Forts Hamilton and Wadsworth and to kiss the Statue of Liberty if I am so permitted to do. But anxious for America, as not hitherto. Having

looked forward to the same homecoming, up the same matchless harbor, upon more than a score of other occasions, I do not remember any similar feeling of anxiety and, to a degree, of uncertainty. Will travelers and tourists some day point to these shores and tell of a glory once unparalleled but long since departed?

This feeling of anxiety is cherished, *because America must continue to be worthy of the noble name she has now in the great wide world.* I have been profoundly impressed all the way by the expressions of almost extravagant appreciation spoken by people of every place. There is a feeling, which nearly reaches the mystical at times, that our country and our people can do anything they will to do. There is also a feeling in many places that we are waiting to see how the rest of the world acts and that if they do not do as we think they ought, then we will properly step in at the psychological moment and regulate the whole thing. I heard great men in China say, "We are placing our hope in your country, to see that we get fair play." I had a committee of Indians say about the same thing, in an interview in which they implored me to present their problem to the highest officials of the United States. In Constantinople I was told by men representing every side of that fearful complication that any word America would speak would be accepted. The voices of the Greek and Armenian Patriarchs there were like a prayer as they pleaded for our nation's help. Greece, Bulgaria, Jugo-Slavia, Hungary, Austria, and Czecho-Slovakia say the same in some form. At Belgrade a Major of the Serbian Army took us to the monument, in a park overlooking the Danube, which was built by the Kaiser to commemorate the spot where the first

shot of the Great War was fired, and where he had placed a huge painting of himself, as he expected to sit there and view the glories of his victory. But now instead of his portrait the crown of the new nation is displayed. As the officer reviewed the incident and told of the gratitude of the Serbs he said, "We owe all this to American dollars more than to French and British bullets." Even France and Great Britain are saying they cannot hope for real solutions unless America will stay by and help. It is just one continuous query from one nation to the next, from one city to the next, from one individual to the next, "*What is America going to do?*" I do not believe all the world, ever before in history, has turned to one nation with such longing expectation as it now turns to America. This of itself is a solemn responsibility.

At this point it is very interesting to observe that the United States has clearly entered upon a world career. Regardless of politics or statutes or party platforms, the world scope of American life is begun. This may have been going on little by little before 1914 or 1917, but when we entered the scene of conflict and said by so doing that a European war did affect us, the last barrier was passed and the new young republic of the West was a world affair, never to be the same again. A new page in history was to be written and a new national psychology had to be reckoned with. There may be a large element of doubt about how successful the career will be, but it has commenced. To stop it would be as difficult as to interrupt the growth of a healthy twelve-year-old boy. "Isolation" is impossible. It may still be a good platform expression for a certain species of politician who is found in Idaho or in California or

in parts of Missouri, but it does not represent the best in any one of those states, and cannot survive in the nation. A traveler is led to observe with satisfaction that America has accepted her share of the mandate for the good morals of the world. The voluntary gifts poured out in the realm of philanthropy by the people of our land have simply staggered the world by their magnitude. Sixty-eight million dollars spent in various forms of relief in Russia alone since 1918 by American societies is an item that evokes universal comments of praise. A Scotchman said to me, "We stand aghast at your American benevolences." The American Relief Association, the Near East Relief, the European Student Relief, the Red Cross, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Young People's Movements, the Sunday School Association, the missionary societies, and the educational boards are on the march to the uttermost parts of the earth with magnificent programs, and no hint of danger from entangling alliances is heard in their circles. They have accepted the common duty of all to help all in the struggle of life. They have no small nationalistic borders to their vision, and no small "Main Street" vocabulary. I know no language to express properly the sense of appreciation which was manifest in every place toward the Americans' generosity in the realm of morals, welfare, education, and religion. It is the truest token of the highest there is to be found in American life.

In the presence of this unequaled era of munificent giving for humanitarian purposes, however, we as a people need to be reminded that this alone is not our full duty. There are those who perhaps sincerely believe

that this function is all that is required to meet what is called responsibility in coöperation. Alfred E. Zimmermann in his book "Europe in Convalescence," in speaking of this as a peril, says:

"The English-speaking peoples are giant givers and it is ungracious to criticise what is a golden virtue. But money given by private individuals, in a tardy attempt to cure what should have been prevented by public policy, carries with it less than the usual blessing. It cannot be too often repeated that charity is no substitute for justice."

In addition to these foreign expressions of America's altruistic spirit, the Eighteenth Amendment on Prohibition is talked of to the most remote corner of the world as an index of the nation's tremendous moral enthusiasm. I spoke at luncheon and dinner functions, where in many cases the tables did not give the impression of a "bone-dry" affair, but where reference to the persistent determination of the American people to keep that law and enforce it, was applauded with vigor. Men are saying that any nation with courage enough to carry out such a program as that is worthy of the highest esteem. America is meeting this moral challenge at home and abroad not perfectly, but very well, but she must do more.

America has also accepted a mandate in the financial and economic world conditions. I have not met any man in travel, neither have I read an article in any paper or magazine intimating that United States money and products and economic genius ought to be kept at home. The men of power in this field do not seem to be afraid of being contaminated even by European con-

ditions in 1922, when at their worst in history. They are not shouting about the Monroe Doctrine or exclusive Americanism. They are on a regular crusade for business. It is to be noted that the Wall Street banks are engaged in "moratoriums," "consortiums," big loans, and buying bonds. They have started on a world scale. Also I observed that South Bend sewing machines, Detroit automobiles, Jersey City soaps, Boston razors and garters, Hartford typewriters, Wichita mentholatum, New York City gasoline, Pittsburgh pickles, Poughkeepsie cough drops, Chicago reapers and mowers, California peaches and grapes, Pennsylvania steel and iron, and a hundred other worthy enterprises have cut the lines of all littleness and launched out into vast internationalism. No place so remote could be found without running smack into the world-entangling economic sweep of these American schemes. The men of business are far too sensible to sit in a snug corner and talk about geographical limits to their efforts. They believe in the uttermost parts of the earth and are going there. I was proud to know that their contribution is, generally speaking, making a good impression. I am quite certain the reputation of the American business man is better than it was in 1913, when I had watched the earlier beginnings of this phase of our life in many of the same countries. It is not perfect, much is to be desired, but it is on the whole good.

But even greater anxiety is felt for America and her future because she must continue to follow these world impulses to their logical and final conclusion. They must be accepted where they are most needed and where they have more influence than at any other point. We

feel the moral command to be our brother's keeper without regard to geography. We ask the right to go anywhere at any time to conduct business with anybody and demand protection, and by the law of common decency we ought to carry the principles clear through and assume all that inheres in such a philosophy. The following quotation from the correspondent Mr. O. P. Bland is given as a remark made to him by the late Willard D. Straight, and is worthy of real consideration by all honest Americans :

"Read the history of our diplomatic relations, which is full of inconsistencies, where we have demanded full recognition not only of our rights but of our privileges, and failed to accord just compensation to those whom we ourselves had injured or imposed upon. Time and again we have demanded our share in the international pie and refused or failed to furnish the fuel for cooking it or to assume any responsibility for its proper digestion."

As the world sees our mandate accepted in the realm of philanthropy, and witnesses the desire ever growing to profit by the commercial relations, it is bewildered when it hears that we have a high and holy horror of being asked to assume vital relationships to perfectly simple and necessary political responsibilities. In conversation with Dr. W. W. Yen in Peking, who was then a member of the Cabinet, he said: "We can't quite understand you and your country. You seem to have two kinds of life—one moral, religious, and philanthropic. This one is very noble and generous. It led Mr. Rockefeller to give us our great hospital. But the other is political and it seems to be narrow,

selfish, and unworthy." This is the view of the world, and the unfavorable change in sentiment, very marked during the past two years, is because many friends of a short while back believe that this lower, baser type has come to prevail.

America is at the crossroads, and in a short time will have accepted a philosophy, which will do one of two things for her eventual destiny. First, she may permit a little clique of small, selfish-minded politicians to dragoon her into the "America First," "Keep out of entangling alliances," "Remember the Monroe Doctrine" idea. These so styled "irreconcilables" have already blackened the good name of America in the estimation of high-minded people in every nation on earth. If they should finally prevail and the selfish theory become a national characteristic, then there is defeat ahead somewhere, some day, for this proud nation of power to-day. Second, she may brush this selfish cult aside and follow the noble impulses for universal service, and in doing so accept political mandates, accept world responsibilities, in the field of diplomacy as well as in morals and money. If history means anything, and the law of cause and effect still exists, then by the choice of one of these two doctrines America will remain great and be greater or she will begin to shrivel and, while the process may be slow, she will eventually go out as others have who have tried to live for themselves alone. There is just one supreme issue in America to-day and that is to make secure the second principle. The accomplishment of this end ought to engage the energies of every man and woman who sincerely loves the nation.

Lest the attitude of the writer be interpreted as that

of one who himself was on the wrong side of the Presidential election of 1920, it is important to say that he voted for the Hon. Warren G. Harding for that office and worked for the success of that ticket and has thus far had no reason to regret that action. He would do the same again by what knowledge he has. Decision was based then upon Mr. Harding's attitude toward the Eighteenth Amendment and also upon a lack of confidence in the Covenant of the League of Nations and certain elements of the Versailles Treaty. None of these has changed. He was also largely influenced by a personal interview with Mr. Harding on October 5, 1920, and by the following personal letter received under date of October 22, 1920:

"Marion, Ohio,
"October 22, 1920.

"MY DEAR MR. SMITH:

"I greatly regret that the plans made for me by the National Committee have made it impossible to carry out the tentative arrangement we had made for a meeting with the delegation of clergymen here. I should have welcomed this opportunity to meet with these men who have so much to do with the guidance of our people in matters which affect our welfare as a people, for our welfare is concerned, not only with the material things of life, but with our spiritual, moral, and ethical progress.

"The home and the church are the foundations and bulwarks of our civilization, and the public men of the country and the ministers of the churches should be brought into frequent contact for their mutual enlightenment and for the uniting of their efforts for the common good.

"I should like to have impressed upon these men

that my announced position with reference to our part in the world movement for world peace did not indicate any desire to fail to recognize our duties and responsibilities as a Christian nation, but that it was formed out of a conviction that the proposed League of Nations would endanger rather than preserve that peace and that at the same time it would sacrifice our independence and endanger the liberties which we have secured for ourselves at such great cost but which we hope to aid other nations in acquiring.

"I should like to have said to them directly that I am committed morally, religiously, and politically to every movement which will aid the United States to a reconsideration of the principles of morality, honesty, and spirituality, which marked the Pilgrim settlements upon our shores and which laid the foundations for the first enduring Republican government.

"Upon one of the issues in which the Church has expressed naturally a great interest I should have said to them that I stand by my vote upon the Eighteenth Amendment; that I would not recall it; that I would oppose the reestablishment of the traffic in intoxicating liquors and that, if elected, I would do my part to secure the enforcement of the law with all the power vested in the Executive.

"And I would have asked these men of the churches to have remembered that a successful administration of the office of President requires that he shall have back of him in all his worthy aims and purposes a constantly aroused and enlightened public sentiment and that to produce such sentiment would be in a large part their work and their responsibility.

"If you have opportunity, will you not convey to the men of the Church who have proposed to honor me with a visit and to other clergymen whom you meet, the sentiments which I have indicated and which are

sincerely held by me and to which I am pledged officially and as a churchman and a believer in the Master?

"Very sincerely,

"WARREN G. HARDING.

"Fred B. Smith, Esq.,

"New York."

I believe the President is honestly trying to carry out those promises and that but for a certain kind of political heckling and blocking he would have been much further on the way than he is now.

This is not written as a defense of myself or any others who followed the same course then. That may have been error; time alone can answer that question. This comment as a parenthetical remark is given, that even more value may be accorded to this view of the overwhelming importance of America's accepting now, fully, in all respects, the doctrine of world coöperation, instead of international welfare service only and national political isolation.

I believe this choice is paramount for America: In the first place that the streams of her own life may be kept pure and strong. There is a law as scientific as anything ever worked out in the laboratory that "withholding more than is meet tendeth to poverty." America is rich now beyond all others and will be so for generations to come. I am to-day reminded of the poverty through which I have passed during these months, covering more than three fourths of the entire distance—people by millions whose daily theme of conversation still remains, "How big was your piece of bread to-day?" I am reminded of what I shall see in a few days—rich fields, well fed and clothed people,

factories running, banks prospering. "More millionaires three times over than in all the rest of the world put together"—so a banker in Austria said in describing our country. All of this notwithstanding the fact that I notice some American papers still talking about "business depression." As compared with the other parts of the world such talk ought to appear only in the funny columns of *Life*, or ought to be inserted in the "Death Notices" page with heavy black lines around it. America is so rich that the statisticians are running out of ciphers enough to convey the actual figures. America is the only place on earth where they sell the book entitled, "Eat and Grow Thin," or where Walter Camp's reducing records are on the market. What will she do with this power? This is more vital than tax rates or the Bolsheviki movement. Mr. Franklin Simonds, the newspaper correspondent, wrote an article recently telling of the shock which came to him in returning from a tour through Europe to see the contrast in what was talked of in America and Europe. He said there seemed to be more interest in the United States in the baseball score than in the destiny of the human race.

If an era of high living, ease, indulgence, and luxury has commenced, all that is needed to know the future is to study the nations, from ancient Persia to Rome, where once the people lived by that theory and remember what happened to them. Luxury and soft living have left a train of destruction and death, with never an exception. America ought to hear no call to smallness, no lure to selfishness. She needs the voice of service, of sacrifice, of coöperation to save her own soul from defeat by an easy life. The greatest teacher of

mankind left as one of His finest principles the slogan, "He that saveth his life shall lose it." It is as true in collective relationships as in the experience of an individual.

In the second place, America must follow this principle of complete coöperation, that she may do her full duty in preserving the world from more disaster. I met one of New York City's greatest citizens on the ship, who talked of the terrible situation of atrocities and the peril of armed conflict in the zone of Constantinople. After he had covered the range of that unthinkable condition, with millions having been hastened to death and more doomed to the same end and of the probable fact that only guns and soldiers would ever quiet it, he said, "And I believe America is to blame for it and could have prevented it." His name is known all over the nation for benevolence and good works. He is a Republican in politics and voted for the present administration. He is a patriot of high order. Yet this was his conclusion as to one result of American isolation. This terrible indictment is shared by thousands of people the world around. One public official of a nation which remained neutral during the war said to me, "If more war breaks out here in Europe, as now seems probable, I believe it will be America's fault. Your country could stop it and it is the only country which can." If these gentlemen are right or half right, there is no other question of duty so important since 1776 as that America shall stop quibbling, stop evading, stop listening to politicians who are most concerned about votes, stop heeding newspaper articles from a source which was never known to do an unselfish service, and wholeheartedly without reservation walk in and sit at

the table where serious men try to fathom the depths of the complications left by the war.

I have no desire to exalt one nation over another at this time; far too much of that has been done already. Neither have I any desire to irritate the questions between the Entente Allies and the former Central Powers. But, with charity to all, America needs to be furiously reminded that Great Britain needs the help of the rest of the Anglo-Saxon constituency, to hold the line she has marked out for the reconstruction of the world. Lloyd George may have been very fallible and weak at times, and all the rest that is said of him. But he is not Great Britain, he is only Prime Minister. Britain at heart is contending for the principles we hold and needs our vote and presence in every trying hour. She was generous to the United States' view in the Washington Conference, and if America loves liberty and peace and brotherhood and a square deal, then she ought to take her place and help in all other such critical periods. The peace of the world cannot be secured without the unfailing solidarity of the Anglo-Saxon people. And this solidarity is not possible so long as America holds aloof with a "holier than thou" sort of political philosophy.

In the third place, this principle of world coöperation is vital to America if we are to fulfill the high purposes we professed in 1917 and 1918. Ambassador Harvey gave the whole world a rude shock in his famous London speech, when he said that America entered the war "to save her own skin." Reduced to its logical conclusion, that meant that liberty and democracy were not vital things in our life, but that we would fight if our own interests were involved. How poorly he rep-

resented the people of his own country was made known by the storm of indignation which swept over the land. People of all parties were outraged by such insolence and by such an interpretation. How poorly he represented the White House is evidenced by the fact that he has not since given way to any more bursts of that type of oratory. Colonel Harvey said it and no doubt meant and probably thinks so now. But at least a hundred million other Americans do not accept that definition. However, the philosophy of isolation, of refusal to help carry the burdens of the world's anguish which came as one of the results of a war in which we were engaged, will finally lead the rest of mankind to think he was correct, notwithstanding our protests and contradictions.

Already it is being freely noted that when the Pacific Ocean looked threatening and Japan was being talked of as a coming foe, the Washington Conference was called for the limitation of armaments and the Pacific problems. Everybody accepted the invitation and the results were so good that the war peril is far removed from the western border of the United States. Soon after that, however, the Genoa Conference was called; we were invited but didn't think it expedient to accept and graciously declined. It is very natural for Europe to think and say that this looks as though Colonel Harvey was right. Genoa didn't get along very well and has left Europe in gloom. It might have done better if we had been there. I have heard no one question the high motives of President Harding or of Secretary of State Hughes. Their names are synonyms of justice, peace, and good will. But the people in distant parts think we were again kept out of a place of service to

the world by the fear of the same group of home-brewed politicians. I believe there is no reasonable doubt that America would have been at Genoa if there had been any danger in securing the ratification of the Pacific treaties. But folks just can't help feeling that our immediate "skin" was in danger at Washington and not at Genoa. Other conferences and assemblies are going to be held, and some Society or Association or League of Nations will live, and America must participate or be branded as a selfish quitter. The peril to humanity by the world situation now is more dangerous than in 1917. It is more alarming than in March, 1918. America didn't quit then. Her contribution of men, money, and morale saved the world in those dark hours. She has men, money, vision, influence, and courage now. The need, the emergency, the impelling necessity, are greater. She must enter the scene and help to the utmost, or accept the verdict of humanity that she responds only when her own skin is attacked, and carry in her own heart a consciousness of cowardice.

The most prominent leaders in eighteen nations believe that at present Europe is headed to financial ruin and, worse still, to another war, and also that the whole-hearted unselfish coöperation of America may avert both tragedies. If another war should come, with its harvest of death, disease, and starvation, and the judgment should be that our failure to help was the indirect cause, it will form the saddest page in all history. America is glorious in fields and harvests, in men and women of courage and vision, in the place she has in the affections of the world, and in influence. She must not permit an insignificant minority to defeat her ful-

fillment of the truest love she cherishes for the peace, concord, and brotherhood of all the world.

Once again, I am led to remember that all the sources of correct information have left the impression that the American people in vast majority are in favor of this complete, unqualified coöperation in world affairs. I am convinced that if that question were submitted to a referendum by the whole people, the result would be two to one in favor of it. A few professional politicians who live by office rather than by principles still think the vote of November, 1920, indicated something of the other view. One very prominent man attempted to establish the isolation theory as an American idea based upon that result. As one who voted with that majority, I protest against that analysis. As one knowing rather intimately the sentiment of 170,000 Christian churches with 27,000,000 communicants, I protest against that being presented as the doctrine to which they subscribe. There were a dozen other questions involved in November, 1920, the chief of them being the Eighteenth Amendment.

I am remembering this now, only because it relates to the method by which America can find liberty to coöperate in a truly Christian way. It is obvious that this full, free participation of the United States, in good service in all the tasks of a distracted world, will never be secured by a unanimous vote of the Republican party. It is equally obvious it will never be secured by a unanimous vote of the Democratic party. There have been frequent times since 1918 when such unanimity in either party would have carried the principle to victory, including participation in the League of Nations with reasonable reservations. There is a small minority in

each party ready to bicker, trade, vote any way or not at all, to defeat this noblest desire of a free people. There was an hour when United States Senator Lodge, if he had had no solicitude for party machinery, could have written his name in a different realm than it is eventually to be in, by reason of his failure to carry the League of Nations ratification. There was an hour when President Wilson could have said the word and advised his party to accept the perfectly innocent reservations, and the United States would have been in the League of Nations. In that first hour Senator Lodge could have led enough Republicans to vote with the Democrats to have carried the Senate. But it was a Democratic measure and would have been a Democratic asset, and therefore could not be. In the second hour President Wilson only needed to say "Yes" if he loved the ideal so purely as he professed. But it was a Republican measure and would have been a Republican asset, and therefore could not be.

The Christian people of the United States are practically unanimous in this hope of coöperation, believing it to be the only real Christian attitude to take. But they may as well know that prayers and petitions and frenzied zeal will not suffice till this ridiculous political contradiction is blasted wide open. America's heart is not selfish, her desire is not for "America first and to hell with the rest of the world," her hope and wish is to help in every way she can. The Christian churches are literally aflame with this expectation of peace, based upon international good will and service. What America must realize is that this is a new political cleavage, possibly worked out in changing the old parties to fit the new hour, possibly by a new one Cer-

tainly as the old ones stand to-day, they are both devoid of any great burning moral issues to inspire sacrifice or call out the nobler qualities of a nation's life. They each hold on their books men who never ought to belong to anything in common. William Jennings Bryan I think is still a Democrat. When I left home, so was Charles Murphy of New York City. Strange combination that. It is not easy to know why Warren G. Harding and Charles E. Hughes should belong to the same political régime as Hiram Johnson and William E. Borah. All of these are as different as men who might have lived in centuries two thousand years apart and in distances as remote as Mars and the Island of Yap.

I believe in churches and Bibles and preachers, and prayers and colleges and universities, but, function as they may, if America is to fulfill her hour, is to enhearten the world, is to share with the peacemakers, she must find some way to mobilize all the good people who love universal concord and have sense enough to understand that its future weal is in mutual affiliations, social, moral, spiritual, economic, and political.

America is a peace-loving nation. She has no account in her ledger for "indemnities." She returns them for educational purposes if they are received. She does not want an inch of any new territory. She is not harboring any passion of hate or jealousy against anybody. She is in command of her faculties, not having suffered terribly as others did. She is strong, healthy, prosperous, and ought to be the last to wrap the cloak of her security about her and refuse to exhaust every talent and capacity of her life to bind up the open wounds of earth's struggling, war-cursed, less favored

sister nations and to help usher in the day when God will make wars to cease. If a cablegram could be sent to every capital city of the world, announcing that America had decided to accept fully her world responsibility and to participate in every function of world affairs, the morale of the distressed nations would be lifted fifty per cent, the depleted and depressed money markets would jump up fifty per cent and the peril of war would be removed almost completely.

CHAPTER XV

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

Is It a Help or a Menace to World Peace?

"If one of my trade union friends in America should gather all the organized labor men together some Sunday morning and see that they all went to church, they would fill every church to overflowing. They would also create a sensation. Now the organized labor men would do just that thing if they could have seen what I have seen in the Orient.

"Whatever we have in the West—and we have considerable—we owe to Christianity."—Victor Murdock, "China, Mysterious and Marvelous."

"We need if not a new religion, a new impetus towards the unseen, towards the realm where moth and rust do not corrupt and where are garnered the riches which no grasping governments can tax and no fluctuations of exchange can diminish. Who shall guide us into that country? Those who have already looked across at its shining distances. . . .

"The central difficulty of the economic situation in Europe is the problem of reparation. That problem is, at bottom, not an economic problem; it is not even a political problem; it is a *moral problem*. . . .

"So long as the moral atmosphere remains as it is, coöperation between France and Germany must remain on a purely material plane, capable indeed of involving Britain in a damaging isolation and even of forming the nucleus of an anti-British or anti-Anglo-Saxon bloc of continental peoples, but not of reawakening the old lost sense of the moral unity of Europe."—Alfred E. Zimmern, "Europe in Convalescence."

THE most difficult of all the attempts to appraise the impressions of a world tour upon a peace message is that one reached when the issues of the Christian Church are involved. Remembering the

wide range of views given by the witnesses who so largely make up the facts which have been recorded upon many topics and at many places, and that oftentimes they have seemed to be at complete disagreement upon vital questions, I am forced to the conclusion, however, that upon no other theme are the extremes so wide apart as upon the question of the Christian Church, its past influence, its present hope, and its future possibilities. Amid these conflicting views there has sometimes risen a temptation to omit any effort to formulate another statement, but rather to leave those who read to draw their own inferences so far as the Church is involved. It would be the easiest way past a difficult situation.

This impulse, however, cannot be followed because the auspices under which all the facts have been attained have in every place been the Christian churches and their affiliated societies, related to the world alliances of churches. Neither could it be followed, because it would be in neglect of the most pronounced personal conviction which abides out of all the confusions. Likewise it could not be adhered to, for if the Christian Church is as indispensable as many believe it to be, then that fact ought to be verified, so that all energies might be more wisely directed towards those methods which have real potency.

Two conclusions are vital at the beginning. The Christian Church spoken of and finally held in highest permanent esteem is not just what the super-ecclesiastics call "Church" and around which they attempt to build a high, holy, limited sacredness. If I were compelled now to accept as a Christian church every building which I have seen with that sign on the gate, or with a cross over the spire, I would abandon the hope which I

expect to record. Many of these have seemed more like ecclesiastical garages, with a few high-salaried religious chauffeurs in charge. Something grander than these is the Church here referred to. It is, on the contrary, an inclusive term, centering in the primary Church but also taking into full account its specialized branches, such as the temperance societies, the Sunday schools, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the young people's organizations, and others which bear vital fellowship to the Church as the Mother of all. I think of the Christian Church as something infinitely grander, broader, and bigger than the organized institution which has grown up by that name and is so largely dominated by human limitations, by man-made standards of membership and functions.

There is also a certain elimination which is demanded, or all that follows will break down in the presence of thinking men. The Church here believed in is not the type proclaimed by a certain sect of orthodox agitators found in every land at every port at every occasion. They are usually self-styled preservers of the faith, guardians of the holy of holies, the inside friends of God, the champions of their own pet ideas of the fundamentals, the supreme judges of "who's-who" in the Kingdom. I would join the league of church pessimists if I felt they represented the Church of the future. They thrive on controversy, they are happy only when maligning the characters of those who do not accept in every detail their pet dogmas, they relish calamity as a sweet morsel, and contemplate heaven as a place where the select, whom they have approved, shall sit in bliss watching all others burn in hell. This type naturally

cannot be concerned about peace and good will on earth, for their philosophy is based upon the opposite culmination. Without further comment so far as this article is concerned, no account of that cult is taken.

With this much cleared away, return can be made to the place the Christian Church has in this vital task of bringing order out of world chaos.

The two voices referred to which seem so far apart must both be listened to, if a just conclusion is to be reached. One is saying in terms of unqualified confidence that the Church has failed absolutely and is no longer to be counted upon as a potent factor in influencing questions which reach beyond those of personal morality. This one calls attention to the hopeless divisions in the Church, and points to important parts of the world where the sects are still fighting each other and to others where the Church once flourished and is now dead and its place taken by alien forms of religion. Attention is likewise directed to the fact that the Church as now organized is unable to meet great human needs in the world in time of panic, famine, or war, and that immense independent relief and welfare societies have been organized to fulfill these missions, which ought to have been the first concern of the Church. The attitude of much of the Church upon the social and industrial questions of the past twenty-five years is being called to mind as an evidence that the Church is traditionally ultra-conservative and is rather inclined to follow instead of lead in great social reforms.

No small notice is directed to the trend of schools, colleges, and universities of all kinds towards freeing themselves from the direct administration of the Church. The statement is commonly made that no high

grade school or university with a high grade faculty can live if controlled by direct ecclesiastical agencies. Comparisons are being made of this significant fact as applied to one hundred and fifty years in the past. Oxford, Cambridge, Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Northwestern, and a long list of other universities which once were under exclusive church control and are now independent, form the basis for this criticism, and by this reasoning the verdict is reached that the Church is passing out of the realm of leadership in the educated world.

Recently I heard a great preacher, a highly cultured man, a known optimist during twenty years of intimate acquaintance, say, "The Christian Church has reached a new day in history. She is now entering upon a fight to a finish; it is a struggle for life as against death."

Not long ago I chanced to be speaking to seven hundred upperclassmen of a university and had presented to them what I believed then and now to be the supreme opportunity of investing life in the Christian ministry, when at the close I was met by a Bishop of the Church, one of those men bigger than any one church who said, "If the Church is to be led by progressive men in the future you were right in your appeal, but if reactionaries are to be in control, then the Christian ministry is only a fit place for second class men, and not for the kind you were addressing."

These are only mild hints of the negative kind. A more violent group is saying the Church is not only *inefficient*, but a *menace* to the good of the world and ought to be put clear out of the field. Alfred Zimmern, who has already been quoted, says that the Church

instead of being the foremost institution in the peace of the world has in reality become an "obstacle." The author of "The Mirrors of Downing Street" in his most recent book, "Painted Windows" draws the same lesson in the concluding chapter and not only ignores the Church as having any value, but indicts it as a positive hindrance. The writer has been familiar for a quarter of a century with all forms of attacks upon the Christian institutions, but has not in as many years heard any so severe as during 1921 and 1922.

These criticisms are pathetic, they are sad, it is a calamity that any ground should have been given for them. But sadder yet is the complacent manner in which some church leaders answer them with a cynical smile and the same old shelf-worn excuses and extravagant claims. One with whom I talked personally upon this phase of the world situation, calmly said, 'Well, that does not apply to my church, for we increased our membership eight per cent in two years and closed the period with all bills paid.' Such answers to solemn problems of church life or death lead one to be inclined to accept the Zimmern theory. These criticisms are serious; they are not without some basis; they must be met upon a platform of respect for those who utter them.

Just as striking, however, are the comments being made by the other type, who are saying that the Christian Church is the hope and the only hope of humanity and the world, in its travail for peace and harmony. Some are saying, "Every other institution and program has failed and the Church has never been really tried on a big scale; let the Church be given an honest chance." Others are calling attention to the thought

that, sad as the world conditions are and terrible as the Great War was, both might have been indescribably sadder but for the influence which the Christian Church and its organizations have exercised.

I have heard men pointing to the Church as the security of a better life among the nations, who do not go to church or belong to any religious society. I sat at a luncheon where an orthodox Hebrew, a rich merchant and philanthropist, pleaded with a hundred church leaders to take the initiative in a world crusade for brotherhood, and during his remarks he said, "This is the only organization I know which has any basis of genuine hope in preserving us from another war." I heard a politician, a Prime Minister, a labor leader, who said he had not been in a church in twenty years say: "We have tried the politicians; they can't keep us from war. We have tried the newspapers; they have failed. Let us now try the Christian Church; perhaps they can teach us a better way."

With due consideration for all and not the full confidence one might wish to possess, and with the facts available by limited visits to many different nations, the writer accepts the latter view as the correct one, and the one which above all the handicaps ought to be stressed to the remotest corner of earth with every speed compatible with efficiency. This conclusion is buttressed by a few indisputable evidences.

In the first place, the great peace emotion or impulse which is so manifest in the world needs an organization, a deposit, equal to the depths of its desires. The Christian Church confesses that its organic life is not perfect, but it also claims it is the best thing the world has upon a scale wide enough to hope for success.

All the data is not at hand, but enough is available to state that the Church has at least 1,125,000 special messengers of the official class, not to mention the millions of unclassified of the laity, who are united in the belief that peace on earth is the mightiest message ever delivered to man. With ample allowance for the utter inability and unworthiness of many of these, there is found here a vast promoting power which, when once aroused and united, can carry the world for a commanding moral ideal. A percentage, all too large, may be tied hand, foot, and mouth to obsolete topics, but the greater majority of these are free, unbought, and unafraid souls who will speak what they believe to be God's truth. In view of the fact that it seems to be rather popular to belittle Christian clergymen and special religious workers, I venture the suggestion that of no other profession of like numbers is there so large a percentage who are, from tip to toe, consecrated to the vows they have taken. There are not as many as the needs of the world call for, and none of them claim perfection. But as pleaders they are the world's best hope of peace. I have visited many cities in many lands of varying vicissitudes, but never one spot where there was no Christian preacher, missionary, evangelist, or teacher. They are everywhere. No political or educational system can claim this wide expanse for its organization. Poor, lame, halting as it may be, the Christian Church comes to this hour with an organization which is world extensive and getting stronger every hour. The peace movement in behalf of all humanity needs this machinery.

In the second place, the true doctrine of the Gospel of Christ is perfect. If all the horrible interpretations

are listened to, and all the weird theological incantations which have been dragged in must be given place, and a full catalogue be made of all the parasitical subjects which crazy people have attached to Christianity, all combined they do not mar the beauty of the Gospel of Jesus, given in the unequaled Sermon on the Mount with its Beatitudes and central theme, "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God." Men are fallible, weak, and bigoted, but this doctrine was perfect two thousand years ago and is perfect now. I found in mingling with many forms of religion much of beautiful poetry and much of high sentiment about eternity and immortality, but I found no other proposing to heal the wounds of this world's hurt and to have a Kingdom of life and brotherhood on earth.

The world is in need of some message which can interpret life upon a plane higher than cold materialism. The pit in which the European nations find themselves now, which is deeper and darker than in 1918, has been dug by an incessant irritation of economics and geography and the bottom has not been reached, and will not be till some new moral, spiritual, altruistic wave moves their dominant life. The Christian Church has this doctrine, it knows this language, it is the only platform from which may go out a new higher call which may leaven humanity with the hope of brotherhood.

In the third place it is to be observed that somehow, someway, the Christian Church produces an atmosphere, an attitude, a great hope.

I have been led to say a few times that if put in a room blindfolded and permitted to talk with men in periods of five minutes each, I could give an accurate

statement of the controlling belief of each, without propounding one direct religious or theological question. All that is necessary is to provoke discussion of the problems of war, its past effect and the probability of more. To the man a stranger to the Christian theory, "war always has been and always will be." To him it is silly and sentimental to talk of a time when armed conflict will have ceased. He says, "We are in a fight all the way, the world is built on the idea of the survival of the biggest." Cold, calculating, metallic, materialistic, fatalistic is his vocabulary.

In the man who has really been brought into the zone where the Gospel of Christ is working, there is a brotherhood desire, a searching after concord, a love of comradeship, a conviction that God did not mean wars to be, and that He will eventually make them to cease. The world is under the spell of an awful pessimism; the printing presses seem to be running night and day turning out the somber prophesies of the utter collapse of civilization. The street and market places are filled with the recitations of hate growing keener, and war and desolation of a worse kind yet dawning nearer. The Christian platform still speaks of the Kingdom of God, of the higher hope of the day when everywhere men will be bearing one another's burdens as the joyful law of Christ. The Christian Church is worth all it costs and all its energies, even with its defects charged at full value, as the center where the language of universal brotherhood, peace on earth, good will to men is still spoken and the doctrine still believed.

In the fourth place, the Christian Church is still the mightiest disseminator of a truth which carries with it moral sanction enough to restrain the violent passions

of men as individuals as well as in groups. One is at every point reminded that, following the Great War, there has come an almost insane desire for license to do anything, anywhere, regardless of the effect upon personal life or society. Sometimes, this spirit has been mis-called "liberty." What the Bolsheviks claimed in the economic order in Russia has passed rapidly to the moral realm. A large part of the depression in the world's business life is occasioned by the lawlessness which leads men to be afraid. They do not trust individuals, they dare not trust nations. The world is passing through a period of well nigh unbridled liberties, so called, which are undermining confidence. Some platform, some doctrine, some faith must be found strong enough to enter the arena and control morals. The grandest thing about Christianity is not its story of the birth, life, and death of its Founder, beautiful as they are to those of that faith. But rather is its supreme glory discovered in its moral program, which proposes to graft into life not only pretty ideas but a divine moral energy, a sanction, a command, which will restrain the lawless passions which cry for indulgence. The Christian Church still dares preach the Ten Commandments as being just as binding at Moscow, Berlin, Constantinople, Paris, London, and Washington as at Mount Sinai.

In recognition of the first set of criticisms and in realization of the fact that their existence is a calamity, even if they are exaggerated, and in the more serious recognition of the fact that if the second group are at all correct these obstacles ought to be removed to the last degree possible, attention is again directed to them. One thing is sure in accepting either view or both,

this is a momentous hour for the organized system of Christianity. The Church as it is may live on a long, long time but be of small value to the big needy world. But if it can enter the field of influence now opened to it and live up to the high hopes being entertained for it by tens of thousands in every part of the universe, then it is entering upon an era of unprecedented power. Some issues are to be dealt with promptly if this latter dream is to come true.

Of these the one which seems most essential is that the Christian Church free itself of its war heritage, its war record, its war affiliations, and take bold leadership of the world-extended hunger for the final judgment upon military force as a method of adjusting international differences and misunderstandings. This statement is made in full knowledge of the fact that many complacent church officials will contend that that has been the attitude of the Church all along. Granting full credit to that host of men and women in the Church who always held that personal feeling, and to some small communions which not only believed but practiced it, yet taken as a whole the Christian churches of the world have not been upon that basis and many of them have been the most ardent advocates and promoters of wars. The Near and Far East are literally hurling with scorn into the faces of the missionaries this record of the wars of the West and Christian relations to them.

A noble native minister, immediately after my second public address in India, took me aside and said, "You must know that the educated people of this country look upon Christianity as a warring, blood-spilling religion." Another, translating a part of an article in a

prominent paper in which the editor associated Mohammedanism and Christianity as being kindred faiths, gave the Moslems the advantage of sincerity in that they freely advocated the sword, while the Christians talked and professed peace, but were waging the worst wars in all history.

Before leaving New York I received a splendid letter from a great Indian Christian, extending an assurance of welcome to his country, but giving this strange counsel: "I would strongly advise you not to use the word 'Christianity' in speaking in India. It is here regarded as the name of a Western religion which has failed. You can preach Christ here, but you cannot preach Christianity." Similar illustrations could be multiplied from China and Japan, although the comment would be a little less severe in the case of the latter. Hindus, Mohammedans, and Buddhists are filling the Far East with descriptions of Western Christianity as a war-loving and war-promoting organization.

Whatever may be said of the purity of their motives, it is quite certain they are not entirely bereft of arguments to substantiate their attack. The record of the Christian churches from 1914 to 1918 is not very much in harmony with the teaching of the Founder of the faith. Organized Christianity in Russia, Germany, France, Great Britain, and the United States was not only silent when the storm broke, but soon became the trusted track to promote the slaughter. When I look back upon things I heard in Christian pulpits and words personally uttered concerning that war, much of it seems a hideous nightmare. I quietly strolled through those majestic aisles of Westminster Abbey, when en route home, but must confess that as I went I shud-

dered at what the impression must be upon any non-Christian who should visit that place. Most of the greater statues, monuments, and tablets are to the memory of furious warriors. In nearly every church in my own country, as well as in others, there is displayed some honor roll, some tablet to visualize to the young the glory of war.

If any suggestion was intended to lessen the bravery of any of these, it would be brutal and unpardonable. But I venture if the dead who gave precious life upon battle fields from 1914 to 1918 could speak, they would ask that even the use of their names should not become a part of a process to deify war in the name of Christ in His Church. The Christian Church must make wide its fixed purpose to be forever free from war alliances and to be faithful to the program of peace, even though most of the clergymen have to go to jail and the buildings are invaded by armies. Either this is to be its future, or the Western churches may as well call home the foreign missionaries and close the books. A great Hindu, a member of the Imperial Legislature, said to me, "Ten years ago it looked as though Christ was to become the dominating personality of India, but the Great War has settled that forever." Then turning abruptly, as though seized by a feeling too intense to be controlled, he said, "Why in God's name ought Indians to accept your Western religion? It promotes the very thing we hate most." The Christian Church must become famous as the center of love of peace and equally famous for its abhorrence of war.

Among the things which seem to demand a new consideration there may also be noted the imperative cry for a bigger, better, nobler definition of Christ.

To read the Sermon on the Mount and then to go to some churches and listen to the narrow individualistic interpretations of it, an unsophisticated person would never suspicion they were related to the same philosophy. They are oftentimes as far apart as a Masonic lodge and the Sinn Feiners.

There is no thought in the mind of the writer of impugning anyone's sincerity, but sincerity when in awful error becomes almost a crime. Is Christ the Savior of only a handful of each generation? Does God continue to bring millions of innocents into the world every year that He may have the satisfaction of sending them to hell later? Is the Gospel only to regulate individual morals and let all collective relationships be run by the Devil? If the interpretations of Christ commonly held are the only ones and no more prophets will learn bigger things and teach us broader ways, all of these questions must be answered, "Yes." And if they are so answered then Christianity is not a world religion and never will be, even if the process is continued for a million years.

It is not easy to explain the feelings aroused as one comes out of those sections of the world where the whole Christian movement is being challenged and its very life mooted because the critics say it does not fit the need of the times, and then to find much of the home religious press filled with satisfying reports of a small numerical increase and a few new buildings erected. Important as they are and ever must be, these things are insignificant beyond expression, as contrasted with the universal problem of a definition of the Gospel adequate to the truth of the New Testament and worthy of the crisis of the world's humanity.

Perhaps too much of the life of the Church in this hour is being directed to "activities." A nervous, restless, worried generation is apt to say, "Let's do something," when in reality probably it ought rather to sit down and *think*. Buildings, hotels, social centers, relief stations, clothes, baths, gymnasiums, playgrounds, music, entertainment, and preachers will not carry Christianity, of the kind the world is now thinking about, triumphantly through every land. We need a new definition, not because all in the past was wrong, but because a new set of conditions has arisen and because we must have one that is so much like the things Jesus said that the distant non-Christian world can be met without the messenger's spending two-thirds of his time in apologizing. It would be a great thing if a hundred men like the Church's McConnells, Cannons, Fosdicks, Vances, Jeffersons, Merrills, Speers, Francises, Barbours, Woelfkins, Brents, Knubels, Ainslees, and Melishes could go apart for one year, away from the noise, and with only the New Testament to read, and then send a little letter about Jesus Christ—His teaching, His purpose, His love, and His brotherhood—to all the churches. It would mean more to the future of the world than for some billionaire a billion times suddenly to pay all the war debts, and for the world to keep its old philosophy and the Church to try to go forward with a materialistic fraud of Christianity.

Another necessity pressing itself hourly upon the Christian Church is the discovery of some method by which practical, working unity may be brought to bear upon the new functions which church leaders of all forward-looking types are now accepting. Without doubt this question is more talked about among those

who cherish great hopes for the future of Christianity than any other one subject. Likewise, it is also the most prominent item discussed by the severest critics of the Church. They point to the fact that the really great tasks of the future are social, civic, national, and international, and that these do not lend themselves to the functions of a divided Church. That the smallest unit which can be dealt with successfully in the new order is the community, is being accepted by all who believe in the welfare of humanity and think in terms of the Kingdom of God on earth. While these facts are forcing their way, the critics say that instead of unity the after-war period brought a revival of sectarianism. 'Certainly there is some ground for this statement by the student of church affairs in the United States and the British Isles. Instead of a common coming together worthy of the time, there seems to be a nervous denominational "Hurrah" going on, the only excuse being a suggestion of expediency in the interest of a larger unity later. It is not strange, then, to find a great doubt about the Church for the coming years, when the utterly inexcusable and ridiculous divisions and subdivisions are considered. Those vast divisions are sad enough, which are illustrated by Greek Catholic, Greek Orthodox, Armenian, Roman Catholic, and Protestant. But add to this the cross sections of some of these and particularly those of the Protestant group itself, and then notice that unity is not yet possible even in the Methodist, Presbyterian, Lutheran, and Baptist denominations, and finally crown all this folly by such a demonstration of acute narrowness and bigotry and conceit as that given by the self-styled "fundamentalists" of the Northern Baptist Convention at Indianapolis-

lis in June, 1922, and the stranger thing is that so many noble people still do believe in the Church and hope on.

But a practical, working plan must be found by which greater solidarity can be realized or there is no hope for true greatness, and there is a certainty that an increasing number of men and women who think and will insist upon continuing to do so, and an ever larger company who are moved with desire to serve needy folks in human ways, will leave the Church and seek other channels for their endeavors. I found no place in travel which was so remote that this subject was not in the forefront of all conferences. It is gratifying to record not only that there is an intense sentiment, but that also earnest constructive effort is being made to meet this responsibility. It would be impossible to make a complete list of all the unity, coöperative and federated committees, societies, and organizations found in many parts of the world. The sense of the importance of united effort is bringing forth a host of men and women determined that progress shall be made. In this connection "The World Alliance of Churches for International Friendship" is probably the most conspicuous illustration of this ideal upon a large scale. Twenty-two nations are already organized with their own Councils, of which many different kinds of Christians are members, and all are working heartily, harmoniously together to preserve the nations in peace and brotherhood.

This organization will soon make possible bringing to bear the solid influence of at least one-half the numerical strength of Christianity upon the peace subject. Nearly every nation visited has some kind of national church organization representing varied forms of

Christian faith. The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America is perhaps the best illustration, with its thirty-one different denominations united in common purpose to perform those national duties for which the Church is accountable. In nearly every larger city of the United States there is a local Council which binds the Church together for the good of the entire community. The divisions are sad, the organism is far from perfect, but it is not hopeless as some would seem to feel. There is a world-wide impulse toward unity in coöperation for the common good without respect to creed or dogmas. The great federated idea which is effecting so much in the world is not lacking in the Christian Church, and better days are coming.

The world is longing for peace, it is weary of war. Men are saying that a new kind of human purpose and plan has to be injected if world brotherhood is ever to be anything more than a dream. Alfred Zimmern says there are three forces which can produce the result—"the press, the university, and the church." I believe in them all, but I know that without the Christian Church such an order will never be, and that with the right kind of a Church such an order is possible. It must be a free Church, it must have the voice of the fearless prophet in it. The Sermon on the Mount must be applied. It must be fired with the conviction that war and Christianity cannot both permanently survive in the human race.

CHAPTER XVI

THE CLOUD BEHIND THE CLOUDS

The Peril of Industrial Revolution

THERE are two great human, moral questions which the world teachers have to answer. There is no escape, they cannot be evaded, they cannot be suppressed. All the struggle of humanity, the restlessness, the discontent, are but the distant warnings that these two questions will not be quieted until an adequate satisfactory solution is found for both of them.

There may be avenues by which brute strength may prevail and rule for a while in either of these realms, but "good will" and "coöperation," without which the world cannot live a decent life, is impossible till they have both been met fairly and the human race convinced that the decision is righteous and just.

First: Can we get rid of war?

This is only first, however, because it is on now. It is with us. The human race has just been drenched in the blood of this horror. It is still burying the dead as a part of the result. It is still living by the open graves of its slaughtered. It is just now going down deep trying to pay the money debt. That is the only reason it can be said to be first. All that is written in this book, and all that goes with it, is only one more simple,

218 ON THE TRAIL OF THE PEACEMAKERS

modest witness to this thought and an effort to contribute a little to its solution. But that is not all of the human cry of the world. There is another one, fiercer than the first and involving more people, and equally persistent in its demands.

Second: Can we solve peacefully the social and industrial problem?

The author might omit entirely any reference to this question, for he was not commissioned to make any investigation upon this phase of life. He does not profess to be a scientific student of the intricacies of this issue, but it early became apparent that to omit it was impossible and to evade it would seem ridiculous. It was everywhere. No conference could be held at any point where discussion was permitted but that inside of ten minutes, in some form or other, under the general title of the peace topic, the local, national, and international issues related to the social and industrial problem would be introduced. Thoughtful people were not willing to discuss the evils of military action among nations and to ignore the one with which they were involved right at their door and the one many believed to be far more serious than international adjustments.

It was rather a striking and alarming thing to go into every city of practically every nation visited, especially those of the larger and major populations, and in every case find them in the grip of some terrific labor strike. San Francisco was left and the last paper read had glowing headlines of a strike. Japan was reached and the first papers received had headlines covering the story of four great strikes called the day before in as many leading cities. In China, from Peking to Hong-kong, there was some kind of a strike on in every city

visited. No boats could go up the Pearl River to Canton because upon the day of arrival the coolie labor on the docks had gone on strike. One man flippantly told me that they did not have brains enough to carry on a strike for twenty-four hours, and that there would be no trouble in returning to Hongkong by boat forty-eight hours later. But that strike was carried on furiously for four months and finally to success. While we were in the north, 40,000 'riksha boys went on strike in Hankow and tied up the whole city and made the business interests beg for mercy. India was reached only to find there, in addition to the Gandhi "Non-resistant Movement" (which was only another name for strike) that every kind of organization from one end of India to the other had been striking for something. Even the fifty million "untouchables" had gone on a strike and were holding a convention in Delhi, which thirty thousand delegates attended, to protest against further abuses of the low castes. Europe, not satisfied with war legacies, is full of strikes.

Then home was reached, only to read in almost the first daily paper the story of thirty-one slaughtered in Herrin, Illinois, in the most brutal riot the newspapers ever recorded. Therefore, a few articles upon the topic of international friendship, peace, and good will, would be totally absurd if no reference were made to this question.

The author is persuaded that if some method could be found by which everybody in the world could be satisfied concerning geographical boundaries, and that if then somebody else could be found with knowledge enough to answer the great economic problem so that all the reparations could be paid, all indemnity bills met

and every obligation satisfactorily canceled, and then another discovery could be made of a way by which all those human grievances, those harbored bitternesses could be healed and everybody made satisfied in that realm—yet with all this accomplished, which seems like an impossible dream, still another cloud is to be seen on the horizon, and humanity must yet find its path through the social and industrial struggle. Some way must be found by which a man who has a good deal of money can live in a friendly way with a man who has very little money. The writer was not sent out upon this subject and did not assemble any information upon which to base conclusions and does not wish to attempt to any extent a recital of the facts, but he must record a conviction that international friendship, good will, and brotherhood will not come to this world until this question also has been honestly met and some remedy found.

No word of appreciation high enough can be commanded now, to express fully the admiration for those on both sides of this controversy who are fair-minded enough, fearless enough, Christ-like enough, to face the issues, honestly discuss them, and somehow in the name of God and humanity find a remedy. Either this must be done, or some day in the future worse havoc will occur than that which has taken place in the past as an outgrowth of international grievances. If this industrial outbreak becomes world-wide, it will divide every city, every state, every commonwealth, and every nation on a new line of cleavage. Right solutions, therefore, of the various social, industrial, class, and caste struggles must be found, or the peace of the world is not guaranteed.

CHAPTER XVII

CONCLUSIONS

"It is a great thing to have won the war, but to have won it at the cost of more wars to come, and with the domestic problems intensified and multiplied to a degree of gravest danger, this is an achievement which cannot move the lasting admiration of the human race."—The Author of "The Mirrors of Downing Street."

OUT of the confusions, the contradictions, the threatenings, the hatreds and the ruins, none of which ought to be lightly thought of and all of which present a world situation that is severe enough to form a reasonable basis for every pessimistic word being spoken or written, a few convictions are definite enough and certain enough to be presented in positive form. They are the platform upon which all ardent peace advocates must go forward. They are the essence of all the meetings, conferences, and interviews of earlier reference. With no attempt at details and no claim for originality in several respects, they are submitted as having qualities of great importance and forming a framework, at least, for constructive programs for every kind of international friendship and peace society.

CONCLUSION NUMBER ONE

The sentiment of the world is overwhelmingly against war and in favor of permanent peace.

It is not easy to give an adequate statement of this very encouraging fact, one which is decided and universal enough to give real hope for the future. I was repeatedly told, as the long tour began, that I must expect severe opposition in many parts of the world as the tidings of "militarism" were coming in alarming manner from many of the nations. Of those to be visited these statements were most pronounced concerning Japan. I got repeated warnings of this situation. But the exact opposite was the fact discovered and so evident, to which attention was called in the previous chapter upon Japan. Inasmuch, however, as the Japanese-American issue is one of the pivotal problems of the world peace task, I wish to emphasize the fact that I believe the attempts being made by certain political and commercial cliques to portray Japan as a war-mad nation, are maliciously, viciously, and deliberately false. There was found all over Japan a deep desire for peace and friendship with other nations.

Then going on through China, the great mystery of the nations, the sentiment for peace and not war grew with every day as the campaign continued, notwithstanding China's bitter memories of wrongs. Then to India and to Europe, Greece, Bulgaria, Jugo-Slavia, Hungary, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Switzerland, France, and the British Isles—in every one of these

nations there was accumulating proof that the common people, the real folks, were sick, tired, and utterly weary of the military outbreaks and that a consuming passion for unbroken peace was taking possession of humanity. Not one single incident occurred to call this statement in question in eight months' travel in nineteen nations representing all kinds of folks, to whom over two hundred and sixty public addresses were delivered, the substance of which in every case was a condemnation of war as a method and a prophecy of a warless world some time.

One incident is recalled in a city, the capital of a people defeated by the verdict of arms in 1918, where, when an audience of over one thousand had assembled, the Chairman took me aside and said, "Before you go upon that platform it seems important that you should know that most of those in that assembly are against your theory. Do not be disappointed in their lack of enthusiasm." But at the close there was a demonstration of approval so spontaneous, so sincere, that no doubt remained with anyone of their unbounded joy in the hope of peace and their disgust for militarism. Single individuals holding the opposite view were met often, but never one collective group that failed to record its approval of the theme presented.

From 1914 to 1918 there were encountered a few people of each country who were styled "extreme pacifists," or "conscientious objectors," who were opposed to war upon any basis. Small in number as they were, they presented a very embarrassing problem to many public officials. Some were sent to prison, others were shot. Should another war break out, I venture the suggestion that there will be found one thousand "pacifists"

where there was one found in 1914. The whole world is being filled with those who believe that the "Thou shalt not kill" of the Bible ought to be followed even when rulers call for war. If prison sentence is imposed upon all who hold this view next time, there will not be prisons enough in the world to hold them. If death is the verdict, more will be shot as pacifists than in battle. This conception of war is sweeping around the world and pervading its best life with an anti-war philosophy so pronounced that the war lords had best take recognition of it before reaching hasty decisions. I am of the firm opinion that if some vexed international tangle should arise, and the diplomats should confess that they could not agree, and that they had decided to submit the case to popular referendum by all those of voting age, men and women of every nation involved, the result would be ten to one against resort to war.

There is sentiment enough in the world which is opposed to war and in favor of arbitration as a method, that, if it can be mobilized, organized, and equipped so that it can function in international crises, it will preserve the world from more wars. If other conflicts break out, it will be because the minorities who hold public office can defeat the will of the vast majorities. Amid all the somber notes and the discouraging conditions, this one is worth much consideration and gratitude. The *People* will some day find an adequate way to make their wishes the rule of the world, and on that day all war proposals will be "laid on the table."

CONCLUSION NUMBER TWO

The present methods being applied to settle the issues of the last war are rapidly adjusting the stage scenery for another slaughter of the innocent.

I am quite aware that this sounds very much like a definite contradiction of the previous statement, and, as a matter of accurate fact, it is, for in every city to which reference has already been made, where in public meetings of a large popular character there would be overwhelming enthusiasm for the proposals of peace, in response to prophecies that a day was coming when wars would cease and humanity would have learned a better way, notwithstanding this fact, one could go direct from assemblies of this character into more limited conferences of inside men, dealing with the delicate intricacies of the readjustments going on, and there discover chasms of differences so wide and deep that it would seem as though no possible settlement could peacefully be made. I did not find but one nation in all the months of travel in which I was not called upon to listen to a recitation of grievances and causes for war. Nobody seems satisfied. Naturally those who lost in the recent war and have been penalized are wondering, way down deep in their hearts, whether any other fairer settlement is possible except as they gain it sometime in the future with the sword. But even the nations that were on the winning side, in all but one instance (Great Britain), are feeling that they did not get enough and perhaps a little more war would bring some more fruits of the victory. Then, whereas there

were one or two quite distinct, definite issues in the Great War, there seem now to be a hundred entirely new ones. It is foolish now to cry "Peace, Peace" when there is no peace, and can be no peace so long as these serious disagreements exist and so long as the minds of leaders turn to military action as the only remedy.

In addition to the old legacies of the continental European situation, there is now the seething unrest in the Orient. Japan, China, and India, each of them shuddering at the thought, are nevertheless sordidly led to believe that eventually they will have to accept the sword as the only means of defense from the boisterous invasions of the Western white man. Constantinople with the present attitude of the Turk spells inevitably war, unless something else takes place there pretty promptly. I found no man in travel who could give any other answer to the present Russian situation except recourse to armies and navies. The border between France and Germany reminds one of a large field of race horses, champing at the bit to be away for the contest.

It is a strange thing, but nevertheless true, that with all the portrayals of the horror of the past war, and with all the lessons the teachers are trying to instill into the diplomats and the rulers concerning the utter futility of the process, reminding them that the cataclysms of death and suffering from 1914 to 1918 did not settle any of the questions which existed previous to the war, with all of this information at hand and all the essential facts accepted, and with the common people in vast majority calling for peace, the manipulators are going steadily forward preparing for more wars. Almost every nation in the world has a "chip on its shoulder"

of some kind, and with plenty of near neighbors ready to knock it off at a moment's warning. Therefore, unless something more takes place than has taken place, unless some new kind of influence is brought to bear, unless the snarling about "reparations" and territory is quieted, more war is sure to come, the only unknown element being the hours in the calendar.

CONCLUSION NUMBER THREE

There is need for a world-wide campaign of education to tear the halo completely away from the war story.

War as a method is a very deep-rooted thing. It has been followed so long and recognized for so many centuries as the only method of recourse in times of severe variance amid peoples of different races, clans, cults, and nations, that many who are in the present hour weary of the process, with hearts sick, turn back and say it seems the only remedy and the only way. A method which has been followed so long that the mind of man runneth not to the contrary, cannot be changed by one sudden burst of disapproval. The present attitude toward war is the result of centuries of training, and worse yet, has not only its advantage of long tradition, but the fact that it has been so universally glorified. The human race but little realizes to-day how thoroughly it is committed to the military program and how unconsciously, when it seeks for some hour of peculiar ecstasy, or wishes for some adequate method in recognition of any great event, it turns to glorifying

its war heroes. War has been exalted in poetry, art, and music. The school children of a thousand years have been taught in their histories to give the supreme place in admiration to military heroes. Parks and boulevards for the most part are filled with monuments erected to the memory of warriors on land and sea; sadder yet, as already referred to, even the churches have pretty largely decorated their walls with emblems of militarism.

Something by way of education must be brought to bear, to make war horrible instead of glorious. All the rules of war must eventually be changed, for now from the time the first declaration of war is issued until it is finished, the precedents commonly accepted are those which carry a certain amount of romantic halo with them. I would like to suggest a few changes in the rules which might help to modify this glorification idea.

First: If war is the only way and no other method can be found when nations disagree, let an international law be passed that only older men shall be sent to the front, and no young men permitted to touch it in any shape, manner, or form. It would make a vast difference in the war spirit of the older generation if it was known that in the next outbreak, when the call was issued, only men from forty-five to sixty-five would be eligible. There is no reason now, when war is conducted by the modern methods, why a man of sixty would not be just as efficient as a young man of twenty-one. This suggestion is made in the belief that it is thoroughly practicable and that it is thoroughly fair and just, for the wars of the past have always been brought about by the differences of older men, so

metallic that they had lost the ability to give and take. The youth of 1914 did not get up that war. Let those of the older generation do the fighting in the future.

Second: If another hour comes when the wise men who rule can find no other way out except by measuring arms on the battle field, pass an international law which will remove entirely the economic temptation. There is a thoroughly rooted feeling throughout the world that greed of money, financial gain, temporal profits, have been a great factor in the war-producing elements. Such a law might well demand that on the day the war is declared every man and woman in the world be called upon to sign a sworn statement as to the exact amount of money held on that day, and might also declare that, when the war is at an end, every man and every woman shall start at exactly the same place, except for the expenses incident to the war, which ought to be conscripted to pay all bills of the war every thirty days. To remove the economic temptation would mean in the first place that no individual would profit by war and no insulting, indecent profiteers would live after the war to menace society. In the second place, it would mean that the war could be carried on only as wealth could be conscripted during the activities, and no legacies of unbearable debts would be left for generations of poor people to struggle with. If profiteering and economic gain were eliminated from the war zone, about fifty per cent of the sentiment would die.

Third: If nations must go to war, there ought to be an international law that no geography should change for ten years after the war. In the reference made to what seems the inevitable return of war, that statement is very largely based upon the fact that every nation,

with but one or two exceptions, of those proposing to fight again, is doing so in the face of what it believes are impossible geographical limitations. Humanity has been persuaded, and is now persuaded, that the only remedy for adjustments in geography is fighting. Probably there was no more disturbing thing in the Versailles Conference than the geographical question, the undertaking behind closed doors arbitrarily to establish national boundaries, and there never will be peace on earth, and in many places probably ought not to be peace, until a new appraisalment has been made of those more natural, racial, economic, moral, and religious interests which are concerned in the grouping of people. One thing is clearly apparent—geographical changes ought never to be permitted amid the passion of war when the victors, filled with a sense of power, are thinking only of their own views and have no care for the welfare of the defeated.

Fourth: If the legislatures, the parliaments, the congresses, and the political ministers can find no way to harmonize their quarrels, and finally decide that they will try war, an international law should exist, which would require that within twenty-four hours after such a declaration every member of every parliament, every congress, and every legislature of the participating nations, shall himself go to the front, as a private soldier, and sleep in the front-line trenches for at least six months. The crime of war, as conducted in modern times, is that the men who sit behind the scenes and quarrel and finally cry war, themselves never smell powder, and never get gassed, except from talk in conference rooms, which unfortunately is never fatal. As a citizen of the United States, and more or less familiar

with the small politicians talking of war, I have grown very tired of hearing these men in hysterical appeal cry for war, when they themselves will never get far from the central aisle of the United States Senate. A very large percentage of the whole war possibility would be eliminated throughout the world by a little, simple, fair reasonable international law of this kind. There might well be added, as a "rider" later, a provision that no officer, either in the army or navy, should be eligible for promotion during the period of the war. If all second lieutenants knew the day war commenced that they would be second lieutenants when it was over, both in rank and compensation, there would be taken away a good deal of the inside expectation of what war might do in the realm of selfish personal advancement.

Fifth. If the hour comes when those in authority find it impossible to agree and have deliberately reached the war conclusion, an international law should be in existence that the final act could not be consummated until there had been a referendum in all the nations involved and that upon that particular issue only mothers should be permitted to vote. This comment is not made as fantastic, it is not made as purely hypothetical, but it is brought forward as a real genuine proposal. Motherhood travails from the beginning of life to its end for the manhood the world must have. Motherhood is paying a price, the like of which parliamentarians in their highly nervous debates have never reckoned with. Those who pay the largest price, those who give birth to sons who may be conscripted, have a right to say whether the cause justifies the method proposed. This is not meant as a suggestion that the vote would inevitably be in the negative, for if the issue were

a great moral and spiritual one, clear and well defined, if the issue were one that involved the sacrifice of home and the preservation of virtue, motherhood would not fail at the ballot box.

Sixth: If finally, after every word has been spoken, war is the decision, an international law should so control the operations that they would be conducted only out in the heart of the Sahara Desert, taken away from the view of humanity, and the fighting would be done in the loneliness of the wilds, in an arid spot, that, therefore, humanity should be less shocked by the horror of the slaughter and the torture of the warfare.

To guard against any feeling that perhaps these suggestions are impossible and are offered as only purely imaginary, the author wishes to say he believes them seriously and genuinely possible, with a single exception it may be of the Sixth. Otherwise, they are practicable, and if worked out would take away the glory which now seems to hang about the whole mention of war.

CONCLUSION NUMBER FOUR

There never will be continuous peace till some form of open democratic diplomacy is discovered and adopted.

The writer has no political ambitions and frankly admits no special wisdom concerning the intricacies of government, above that of the average man. But it does not take superior knowledge, in a journey around the world, visiting nineteen capitals, and coming in contact with educational, political, and religious leaders,

to discover that the present kind of diplomatic processes, so largely secret, have been the curse of the world. It has been disheartening beyond any expression to learn more and more of the intrigues within intrigues, of the bargainings within bargainings, of the deceptions practiced on top of other deceptions, throughout all the activities in these warring nations from 1914 to the present hour—most of these being carried out behind closed doors by a few so-called diplomats. Secret compacts are always a menace anywhere. I have seen religious organizations, whose harmony and power have been marred and almost defeated by the presence of some little self-appointed gathering behind closed doors assuming supreme ability to make programs and arrangements for all the unsophisticated outside. Commercial and educational history tells the same story. There are many evidences of the weakness of this system in every walk of life, but at no point is it so pernicious as when it involves international alliances and agreements. The secret conferences of the past have been the curse of the human race, and the new ones made now are forerunners of more violence.

The past ten years have witnessed no sadder tragedy than the mistaken, exalted view which the "Big Four" had of themselves at the Versailles Conference. When those four men, whatever may have been their motives, were led to believe that they were so much more important than, not only their compatriots and colleagues of that conference, but than all the people in the nations they represented, they not only wrecked the largest usefulness of the League of Nations, but they also made havoc of the Treaty of Peace. If the open democratic method had been followed concerning the League of

Nations, America would doubtless be a member of that League to-day, and if so the whole story from 1918 to 1922 would have been different. One hundred million people in the United States waited anxiously for some information, but none came till it was too late to remedy the mistakes which had been made in the secret room, where only one mind was thinking for a whole nation. If those four men had opened the door and felt that there was more wisdom in the universe than that which they took in with them, it would have been a vastly better world to live in now. Sad as is that lesson, it seems at this moment doubtful as to whether it has been sufficiently impressed, for already the same method is beginning to be adopted.

Inside alliances are again being rumored. All the conferences held from Washington to the Hague may do their best to patch up the world now for a few months, but if behind the scenes more secret contracts are being made, more selfish compacts entered into, by which a little group is planning to get the best of the rest of the world, then it is perfect folly to talk about peace. War will come to the world in exactly the measure of the iniquity of secret diplomacy.

CONCLUSION NUMBER FIVE

There is need for some method which can lift the negotiations out of the sordid rut of economics.

After hearing this statement made in substance in a hundred places, in introductions made at great public meetings and functions, and after reading it in newspapers and hearing it commented upon in travel by men

of every kind and condition, it seems almost a commonplace to relate it in a survey of this kind, but perhaps its wide presence is an added evidence of its importance and sufficient to warrant repetition again and again. The fact is the war broke out in 1914 when materialism was running rampant, demanding first consideration over all else of human concern. There may have been supplementary questions, but fundamentally at least the selfish materialistic idea prevailed and war was its method. If that was true in 1914, the following years can be said to have permitted materialism to go clear mad. The world is crazy with its desire for greed, and rights, and property, and all that is necessary to reproduce that war, plus all that will go with another one, is to continue long enough to have conferences, with the incessant cry for money, money, and then add to that the supplementary discussions of geographical territory. Then the prophecy of war will be a reality.

I chanced to read from the pen of the late Willard D. Straight, written, by the way, long before the war, this observation: "The need of Europe in this hour is to discover some new kind of morality which will be strong enough to bind the people together and save them from the peril of an economic war."

This same sentiment in varying forms can be heard in every nook and corner. It was listened to as enunciated by Buddhists, Hindus, and even by Mohammedans, as well as by Christians of all names, and people who said they had no religious affiliations at all. Therefore, the hope of the world lies now in those agencies and institutions that know the language of the higher morality and of a humanity concerned with ideals of service, rather than those of gain and profit. The uni-

versities can help, the schools and colleges have a large place, the peace organizations of every kind and name are of immense value, religious organizations of whatever faith may be vital factors, but returning once more to that which is believed more profoundly than anything else, this is the task to which the Christian Church must give itself and let every other thing become of secondary importance.

A great British official said to me at the close of a meeting at which he had taken the chair: "Mr. Smith, there ought to be a thousand men traveling up and down the world proclaiming this sentiment, for there is a respite now and in my judgment another outbreak will not occur upon a wide scale for at least five years. This is your chance. Fill the world with this idea, and war may be averted. Leave the world to follow the processes now being adopted, and war is as inevitable as the rising of the sun."

FINALLY

The author wishes to express a sentiment which would doubtless be voiced by millions in various parts of the world were they to have it brought to their attention. There doubtless is a sense of profound regret that the numerous warnings of approaching war heard from 1910 forward were not taken more seriously. I sat at dinner once in Paris, in the home of a great Frenchman who, with evident emotion, said he felt a sort of crusade ought to be launched throughout the world to stop the war which was surely on its way and would involve at least France and Germany if not all Europe. I remember the only comment made to my

friend was that he was "a little nervous and tired and needed a rest." Shortly after that when crossing the English Channel, a Britisher whose eyesight was nearly gone stood on the deck of the ship and, pointing across toward the north, said, "Unless something is done pretty soon, we on this side of the sea are going to be in a terrible war." His remarks were not taken seriously, but regarded as rather the normal condition of the European mind. No feeling of the seriousness of a great catastrophe was produced.

In 1911, it was my rare privilege, and very sad experience, to have invited the great William T. Stead to come to the United States to deliver an address upon "The Principles of Universal Peace," at a convention to be held in Carnegie Hall. After listening to the proposal and the invitation, this wise man of discerning mind pointed out of his window in the direction of the English Channel and said: "It is a perfect farce for me to go to the United States to deliver such an address when we here are getting ready for the damnedest war the world has ever seen." The only answer made to Mr. Stead's somber anticipation was: "Mr. Stead, this is one of your off days. You will feel better tomorrow." He, however, accepted the invitation, but never delivered the address, for he was a passenger on the ill-fated *Titanic* and went down with the brave. The address which he was to have given was delivered by Dr. MacDonald, then the editor of the *Toronto Globe*. Those who heard him will never, never be able to forget that hour as he repeatedly remarked, "Stead would have said if he were here" this and this, but probably the clause which thrilled the people most was the prophecy that unless something was done in the

238 ON THE TRAIL OF THE PEACEMAKERS

world promptly, another terrible war would break out in Europe. While the impression was strongly made, the feeling generally was that even Mr. MacDonald was a little overwrought by the tragic death of his life-long friend and had, therefore, painted the picture in colors rather too high.

All who lived during those years, sensitive to the horror of what has taken place in the world, cherish a feeling of supreme regret that the warnings were not heeded, and that at least an earnest, serious, world-wide effort was not made to stay the calamity. No adequate protest was heard, the storm gathered, the clouds broke, the fury came. History cannot yet tell the tale of the results.

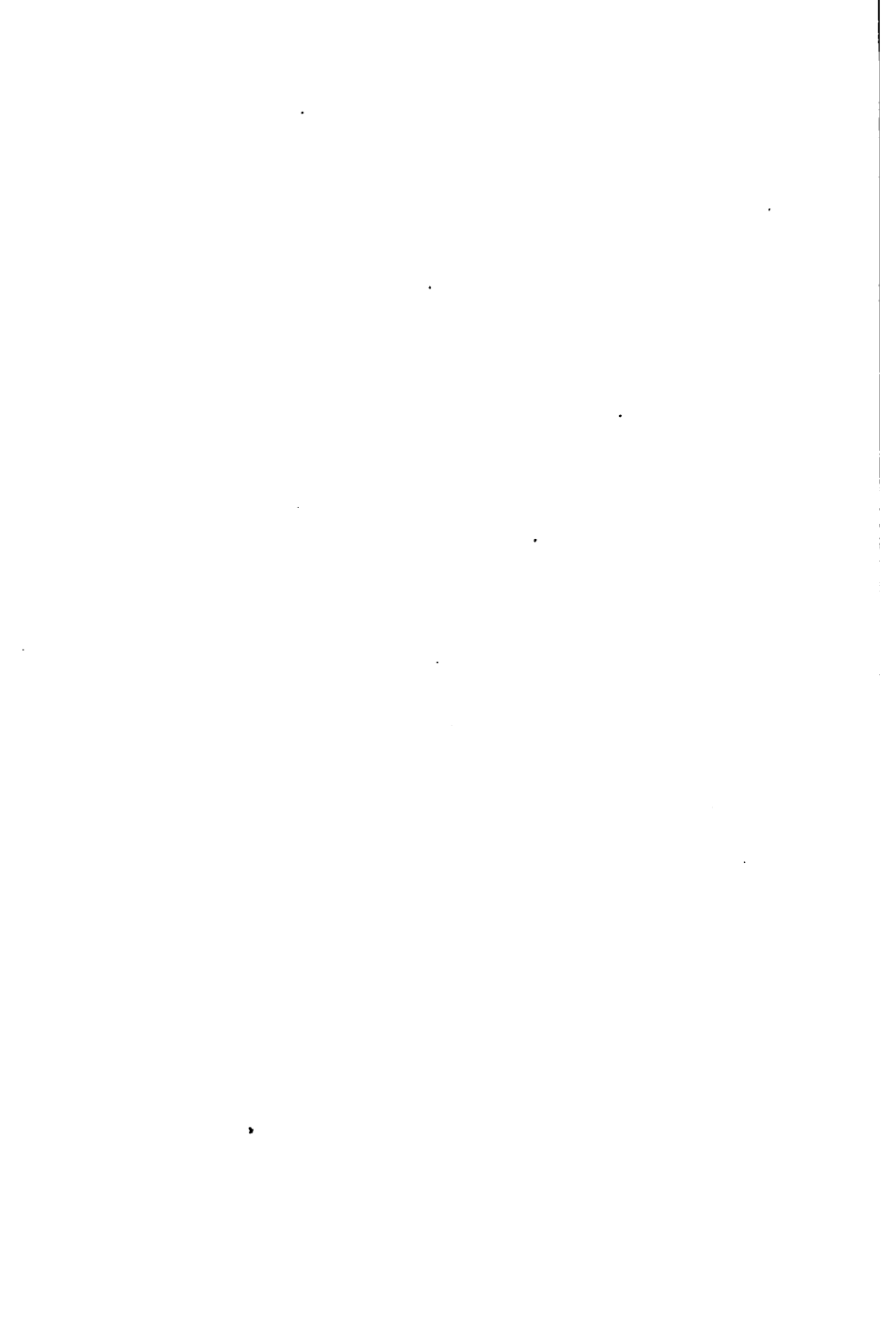
The warnings are more serious now. It is suggested that war may break out not only over Flanders fields again, but in a hundred other places, and the general feeling is that if it starts furiously at any one of these hundred places, it may involve the other ninety-nine.

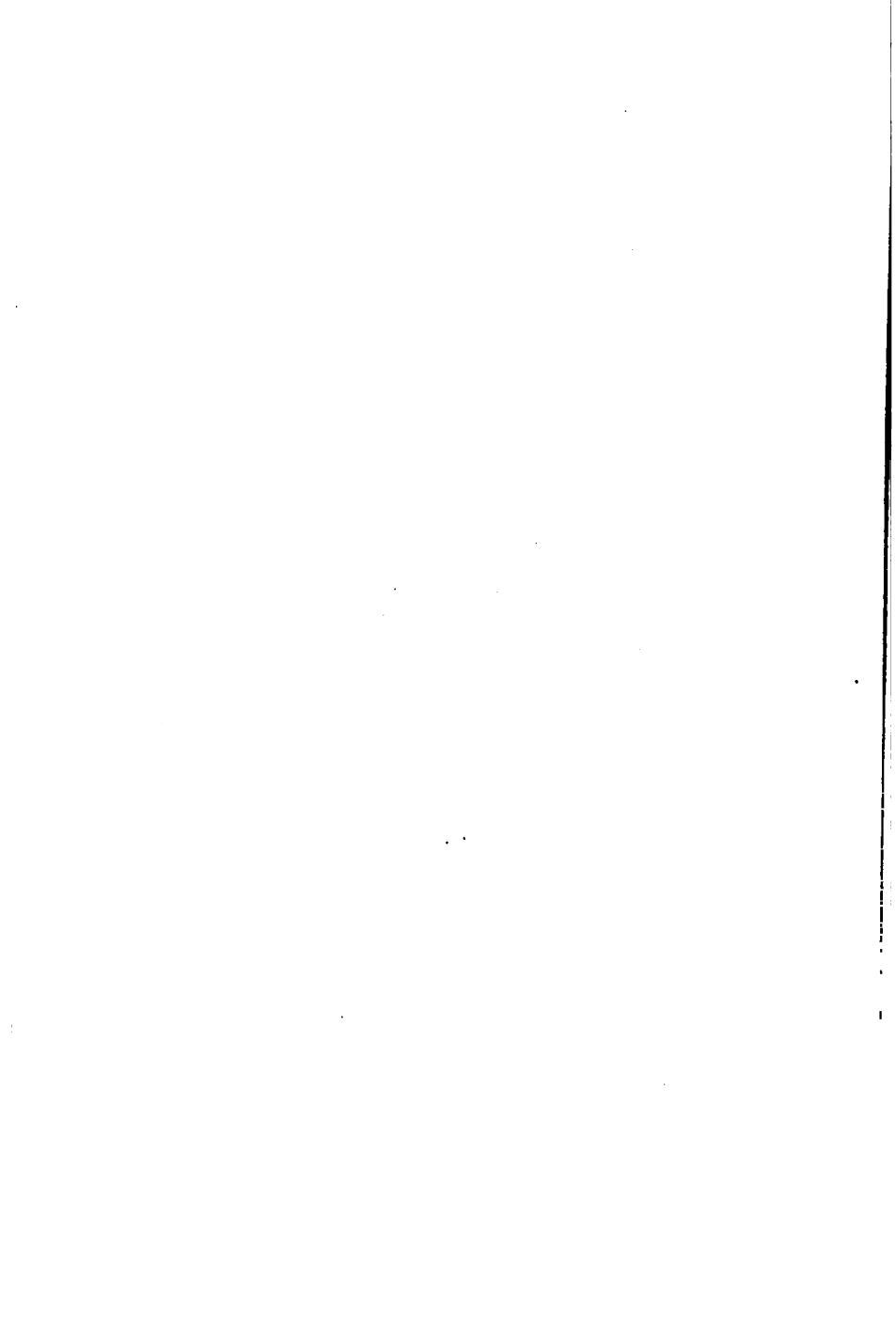
The world is filled with peace-loving people. There is scarcely a spot now but that somewhere someone is preaching a sermon, or delivering an address, or writing an article upon the virtues of "peace on earth, good will to men." To this innumerable company there remains in this hour the solemn duty to make a protest against war so strong, so intelligent, so profound, that if war occurs, none will be compelled to say, "We failed to do our duty in trying to teach humanity a better method of living."

Certainly 1922 is not silent with its voice of alarm. No metropolitan center exists but that many of the foremost citizens are saying, "Another war is going to break out some day."

This book, with all involved in it, is written and dedicated in the hope of universal, unbroken, enduring, unchanging

Peace on Earth, Good Will to All Men.





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